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# THE HEVAJRA TANTRA

## *A Critical Study*

PART I

Introduction and Translation

D. L. SNELLGROVE

25

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Professor Snellgrove's edition of the *Hevajra Tantra* has been prepared on the basis of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan versions in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. The first part contains an introduction, in which tantric developments and the contents of the *Hevajra Tantra* are discussed, followed by a complete translation and full explanatory notes based on the earliest commentaries. The second part contains the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Tantra* and the Sanskrit text of one of the early commentaries, the *Yogaratnamālā*.

The author is Professor of Tibetan at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and has travelled extensively in India and Nepal.

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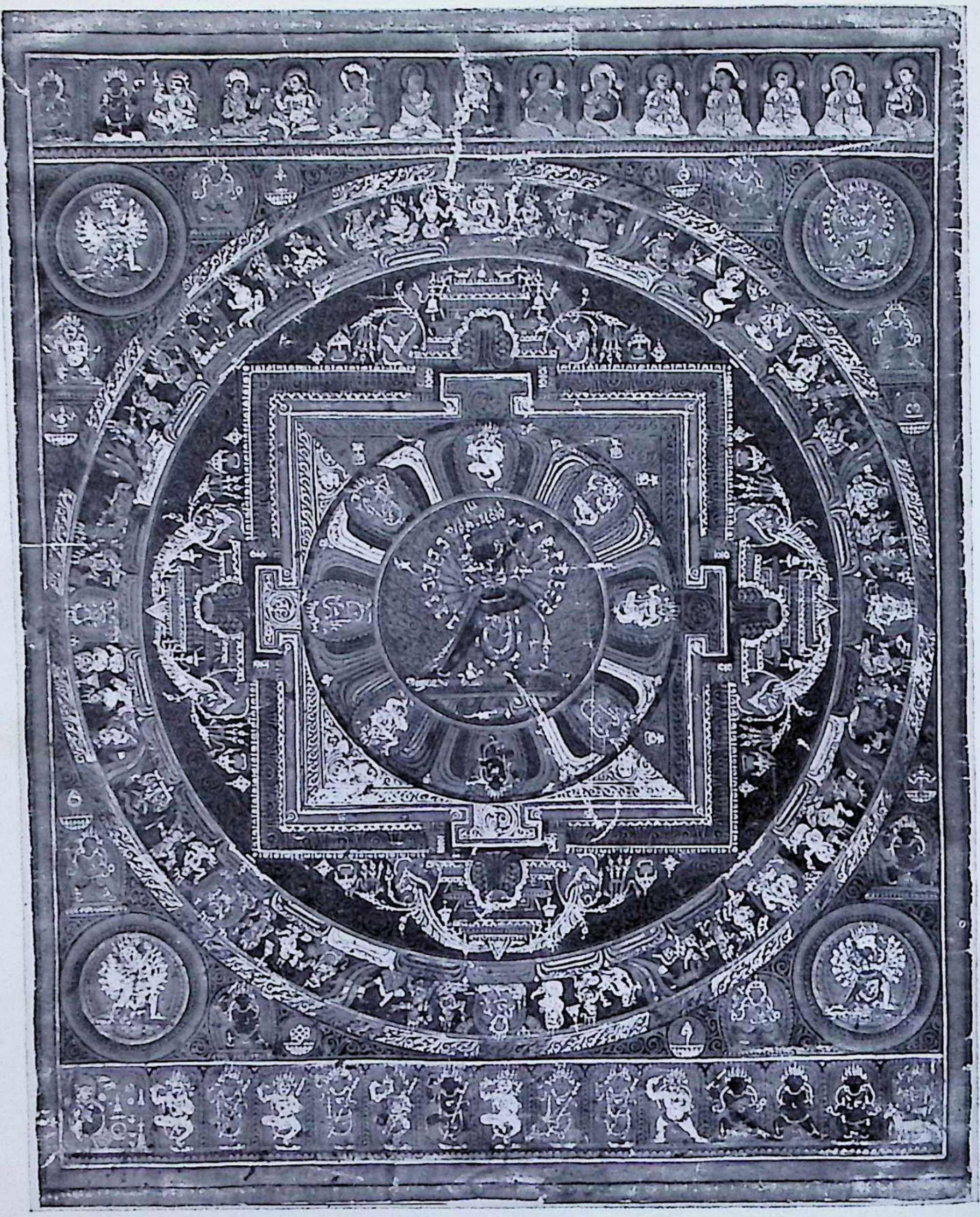

Maṇḍala of Hevajra

LONDON ORIENTAL SERIES · VOLUME 6

# THE HEVAJRA TANTRA

## A CRITICAL STUDY

BY

D. L. SNELLGROVE

*Reader in Tibetan,*
*School of Oriental and African Studies*

### PART I

### INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

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Maṇḍala of Hevajra *Frontispiece*

(Reproduced—with kind permission—from the Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin.)

For the names of the divinities see Diagram III, p. 126.

Hevajra and Nairātmyā *Facing page* 110

Fresco in the Sa-skya-pa Monastery, gYas-mtsher dGon-pa of Dolpo in West Nepal. For a description of Hevajra see pp. 110 and 111. For a description of gYas-mtsher dGon-pa see my *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, Cassirer, Oxford, 1959, pp. 85–92.

# PREFACE

THE core of this work is an edition of the *Hevajra-tantra*, based upon a Nepalese manuscript, which was kindly lent me by Professor Giuseppe Tucci. This text has been translated with the help of the Tibetan translation and its most important Indian commentaries. Of these one which is preserved in Sanskrit, the *Yogaratnamālā* by a certain Kāṇha, has also been edited, based upon an old Bengali manuscript belonging to Cambridge University Library. It has seemed sufficient to make quotations from the other commentaries, which are all preserved in Tibetan, and to attach these in the form of notes to the translation of the main text.

The intention of the introduction is to provide some historical religious setting for the text, and to interpret to the reader the essential meaning of the tantra, as it is understood by the commentators. This part of the work is of a more general nature, and I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Professor Tucci, whose monumental works on the art of Tibet with the many references they contain, have proved a constant support, and also to Louis de la Vallée Poussin and to Paul Mus, whose theories of the development of Buddhism I have learned to accept as fundamentally sound. In the case of de la Vallée Poussin I have in mind particularly his *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux*, published in 1898. It was this work that first drew my attention to the essential continuity underlying the development of Buddhism, a continuity achieved by devotion to a single ideal, which was ever seeking better means of realization and expression. This short work, produced now more than fifty years ago, is still rich in unrealized implications. More recently I have come upon the work, still unfinished, of Paul Mus, *Borobuḍur, Esquisse d'une Histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*. This method appears as entirely satisfactory; the bringing of a text into relationship with archaeological evidence has the effect of uncovering for us the intention of the practisers, so that it begins to become possible to conceive of their doctrine as they conceived of it, a refreshing change indeed from the modern spate of literature on Buddhism, which often tells little more than how certain Europeans or modern Indians conceive of some of the formulated Buddhist doctrines which please them.

To attempt an interpretation of a Buddhist tantra is to move into unmapped territory; certain landmarks are clear, a few tracks here and there, and that is all. Very few texts of this kind have so far been published, and none has been analysed in any detail. As early as 1896 de la Vallée Poussin, introducing his edition of the *Pañcakrama*, wrote: 'Il y a beaucoup de choses dans les livres tantriques—et notamment dans le *Pañcakrama*—qui se trouve au confluent d'un courant d'idées métaphysiques et d'un courant d'idées religieuses: tout ce que la philosophie Mādhyamika a de plus subtil s'y mêle harmoniquement à des conceptions d'ordre pratique savamment élaborées.' Yet fifty years later these possibilities are still largely unexplored, and the Buddhism of India from the eighth to the thirteenth century remains relatively unknown. On the other hand, expressions of opinion have not been so slow in forthcoming. These have either been based on the first impressions given by the few texts that have become available, or upon Sir John Woodroffe's series of non-Buddhist *tantras*. This has led to the all too rapid assumption that the Buddhist *tantras* are in all things identifiable with the *śākta tantras*, a conclusion which, if indeed justified, should have followed from an examination of the texts and traditions on both sides. The wide divergence that separates them becomes apparent when we consider the later development of tantric Buddhism, particularly in Tibet. It is here that the works of Giuseppe Tucci are of such inestimable value, particularly the four volumes of Indo-Tibetica, which suggest with remarkable vividness the condition of the Buddhism of those centuries, when it was being methodically transferred into Tibet. 'Il compito doveva apparire sempre più vasto e difficile, perchè di fatto si doveva creare non solo una letteratura ma una nuova cultura, o meglio, si doveva dare al Tibet una cultura che non aveva mai posseduta. Ciò poteva solo avvenire attraverso l'introduzione della nuova religione, che a poco a poco, permeava le coscienze e ne informava tutta quanta la vita e, penetrata da circa tre secoli, aveva già avuto le sue glorie, le sue sconfitte, i suoi martiri (*I-T* ii, p. 9).'

It seems sufficiently evident that far more was involved in tantric Buddhism than a first glance at the text of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* might suggest. This important work, usefully edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, still awaits a thorough investigation in the light of its commentaries, which alone will place it rightly in its Buddhist setting. There seems to be nothing essentially difficult about these texts if studied in this manner, but one can go hopelessly astray if one attempts to make deductions oneself from literal interpretations of the *tantras*. Such a procedure may throw light upon their origins, but by no means does it explain their significance for Buddhist tradition.

There has also appeared recently a work by S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1950. This is a thoroughly commendable book for its discussion of many of the terms fundamental to the subject, and for its many quotations drawn largely from manuscripts, not a few of them indeed from the *Hevajra-tantra* itself, of which a copy is held by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. One needs, however, to beware of the general manner of discussion, which is far too naïve in its approach, and seems to suggest too ready an acceptance of certain modern prejudices. The cause for this is always the same, that we are attempting to generalize on a vast subject, in which there is no lack of material, by short-cutting the longer task of examining these texts in detail and in their own context.

It is this therefore that I have attempted to do in the case of the *Hevajra-tantra*. Difficulties still remain, but that is at present inevitable; nor let it be thought that I am claiming immunity from error in the case of my own observations. It has, however, been my aim to base them upon as large a context as is possible to me at present. This is the only safe manner of proceeding; as our context becomes gradually enlarged, so will our observations become increasingly reliable.

I acknowledge my gratitude to Professor H. W. Bailey, who set me forth on the path of Indian studies and who is still always ready with advice and assistance; to Professor Giuseppe Tucci for the kindly interest that he has taken in my studies and for the generous manner in which he placed his private library at my disposal during my long stay with him in Rome; and to Professor Walter Simon who continues to give me such friendly guidance in London.

I would acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London, where this present work has been completed, and by whose very generous subvention its publication has been made possible. At this School thanks are especially due to the Librarian and his staff for the unfailing assistance they have given me in gaining access to manuscripts and texts.

# NOTE

FIVE years have passed since I completed the editing and translating of these texts. Delay in printing has been caused mainly by my absence from this country on travels in the Himalayan regions of India and Nepal. Now that this work is at last appearing in print, I myself am inevitably the first and most critical of readers. Five years ago the scope of the book was still limited by the actual material available to me. Now another volume might be added, compiled from other commentaries—and perhaps presented with maturer observations.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

*Berkhamsted*
*28 July 1958*

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A: MS. belonging to Giuseppe Tucci, Rome.

B: MS. belonging to Cambridge University Library, Add. 1340.

C: MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, no. 11317.

T: Tibetan translation: *brTags pa sum cu rtsa gñis las phyuṅ ba brtags pa gñis kyi bdag ñid Kyeḥi rDorje mkhaḥ ḥgro ma dra baḥi sdom pa rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po*—Narthang Kanjur, *rGyud*, i. 306*b*–351*b*.

Ch: Chinese translation: *Taisho* no. 892.

## COMMENTARIES

K: *Yogaratnamālā* by Kāṇha. MS. belonging to Cambridge University Library, Add. 1699.

KT: *Rin po cheḥi phreṅ ba* (Tibetan version of above)—Narthang Tenjur, *rGyud*, xvi. 1–73*a*.

Bh: *Śrīhevajravyākhyāvivaraṇa—dPal dGyes paḥi rDorjeḥi rnam bśad rnam par ḥgrel pa*, by Bha-ṭa-źabs (Bhadrapāda), id. xv. 194*b*–309*a*.

D: *Netravibhaṅga—sPyan ḥByed*, by Dharmakīrti, id. xvii. 336*a*–423*a*.

K2: *Smṛtiniṣpatti* (?)—*Dran paḥi ḥbyuṅ gnas*, by Nag-po (Kāṇha), id. xvii. 168*a*—219*b*.

N: *Vajrapādasārasaṃgraha—rDorjeḥi tshig gi sñiṅ po bsdus pa*, by Nāro, id. xvii. 68*b*–167*b*.

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S: *Padminī—Padma can*, by Saroruha, id. xv. 142*a*–194*b*.

Td: *Suviśuddhasampuṭa—Khasbyor śin tu dri ma med pa*, by Ṭaṅkadāsa, id. xvi. 73*a*–346*a*.

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*I-T*: Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vols. i–iv.

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## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

*BEFEO*: *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi.
*BSOAS*: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
*GOS*: *Gaekwad's Oriental Series.*
*JA*: *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
*JASB*: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
*JRAS*: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
*MCB*: *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Brussels.
*MMK*: *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, ed. de la Vallée Poussin.
*Mvp*: *Mahāvyutpatti*, ed. R. Sakaki.
*ZDMG*: *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin.

Other references are given in full.

# INTRODUCTION

## I. APOLOGETIC

**Buddhism** endured in the land of its origin for some 1,600 years, from the preaching of the first sermon in the Deer Park at Banaras 500 years before the beginning of the Christian era, until the final onslaughts of Islām laid waste the great monastic establishments of the Ganges Valley and Bengal. The ruthlessness of this attack is in itself sufficient to explain the disappearance of Buddhism from India. Its strength had consisted for a long time in its monastic establishments and these in turn depended largely upon royal support—of Aśoka, who enabled a small community of religious mendicants to propagate itself from the north-west frontier to Ceylon—of the Andhran and Kushan kings, under whose auspices their doctrines commenced to develop and enrich themselves so that they became suitable as a religion for the greater part of Asia—of the Guptas and especially of Harsha[1]—then finally of the Pāla kings of Bengal who continued their support up to the last days.[2] In these last four and a half centuries there is no evidence of decline; the monasteries of Sārnāth and Nālandā, of Vikramaśīla and Vajrāsana (Budhgayā) were all flourishing concerns, housing many hundreds of monks and comparable only with the similar institutions that continue in Tibet to this day. Moreover it was precisely in this period that the Tibetans themselves were engaged in transferring into their own country all that they could find of Buddhist teaching, and the contents of their canon, as it now exists, presents in itself a complete summary of the Buddhism of those centuries. In their case it was not a matter of finding texts long disused, which they might edit and translate to the best of their ability, but of finding living masters, who would instruct them in the meaning of the actual doctrines and collaborate with them in the extremely difficult work of transferring them into another language, which till that time had not even possessed the necessary religious and philosophical terms for the task. It was truly an extraordinary feat, the magnitude of which is not always sufficiently appreciated, and still less the existence of such zeal and knowledge as that to which it bears witness.[1] Perhaps the Tibetans themselves are somewhat to blame in this respect, for they seem to have symbolized the introduction of the doctrine in the person of Padmasambhava, so lending strength to the view which is still current, that the Buddhism introduced into the country was of a debased and popular kind.[2] But whereas the historicity of the exploits attributed to this person are thoroughly questionable, the genuineness of the real knowledge and labour involved in the introducing of Buddhism is attested by the volumes of block-prints that repose in our libraries. A truer appreciation of the nature of their religion becomes all the more just, when it is upon their translations that we must chiefly rely for our understanding of the doctrines concerned.

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[1] For invaluable accounts of Buddhism in India in the seventh century one may see the accounts of Hsüan Tsang and I Tsing, the former translated by Beal, *Records of the Western Kingdoms*, 1884, by Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, 1858, and by Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, London, 1904–5; the latter by Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 1896.

[2] Concerning these kings see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, vol. i, ch. 6, *Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar*, where there are many details of royal interest in Buddhist foundations, e.g. pp. 288, 293–5, 303, 313–14, 317, 321–2, 326.

Indian Buddhism was slowly and laboriously transferred to Tibetan soil, and every effort was made to copy as exactly as possible not only the texts themselves but the very conditions under which they were studied and transmitted. Monasteries developed and became, as in India, the main centres of learning; hermits and ascetics, in direct succession from Indian masters, were surrounded by their chosen pupils, to whom they transmitted the secrets of those special means towards enlightenment, such as the subject-matter of our text; the arts of imagery and painting were introduced following Indian models, all to serve the purpose of the new religion. The more useful kind of rites, such as the bringing or stopping of rain, the removal of unwanted neighbours, the quelling of troublesome sprites, merely supplanted, or sometimes reinforced, similar practices that already existed in the country. Such opposition as there was to this great invasion seems to have had its basis solely in court intrigue and fear of personal loss on the part of the old practitioners, and as has often been the case in the history of other countries, one or other faction found it convenient to associate itself with the new religion or the old.[3] But any really effective opposition, such as an already existing religious culture would have presented, was lacking, and the poverty of *bon* as an organized religion is shown by the eagerness with which it has hastened to adorn itself in Buddhist garb.

For us who are interested in this period these Indo-Tibetan relations have a double importance. On the one hand we can make small progress with the study of the original Indian texts without the help of Tibetan versions, and on the other hand much that is found in Tibetan texts remains incomprehensible until it can be associated with some Indian original. It is with both these aspects in view that the present work is undertaken, to clarify one particular type of Buddhist practice which was pursued in

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[1] See, however, Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, ii, p. 9. The four volumes of this series, Rome, 1932, 1933, 1935, and 1941, all serve as an admirable illustration of how great was the task.

[2] See my references to Padmasambhava in *Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 150 ff.

[3] See *TPS* i, pp. 2 ff.

India, thereby assisting towards a complete study of this religion in the land of its origin, and at the same time to lay the foundation for a better understanding of the Tibetan sects themselves, which were the direct successors of these traditions.

The Tibetan Canon, itself representative of Indian Buddhism, consists of two parts. The first is the Kanjur (*bKaḥ-ḥgyur*), 'Translation of the Word'. It comprises thirteen volumes of rules of monastic discipline (*vinaya*) and associated material; twenty-one volumes of supposedly revealed teachings concerning the doctrine of the 'Perfection of Wisdom' (*prajñāpāramitā*) which seems to provide the whole basis of later Buddhist practice and to the subject of which we shall return below; forty-four volumes of *mahāyāna-sūtras*, which extol the endless merits of the many buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, telling of the benefits that accrue from devotion paid them, commending the career of the self-sacrificing *bodhisattva* as open to all men, listing his attributes and the stages of his advance; they touch upon points of doctrine, the three bodies of a buddha, the theory of the absolute as a 'store-consciousness' (*ālayavijñāna*), the theory of the three aspects (*parinişpanna*, *paratantra*, and *vikalpita*), and so on;[1] then lastly twenty-two volumes of tantras, works concerned with ritual and meditation of a special nature. It is part of the contents of some of these last works that have earned for late Indian and early Tibetan Buddhism its reputation as degenerate and depraved, a charge which while in some respects justifiable, as we shall see, remains essentially unfair for two reasons, viz. that it has been made on first appearances, and that even in so far as it is applicable, it can apply to no more than a part of the Buddhist practice of the period.

The second part of the canon is known as the Tenjur (*bsTan-ḥgyur*), 'Translation of Treatises', and comprises works by individual Indian masters. It is therefore not 'Buddha-Word' (*buddhavacana*). It is grouped into two great sections, Commentaries on the *Sūtras* (*mDo-ḥgrel*) and Commentaries on the *Tantras* (*rGyud-ḥgrel*).[2] The first group includes all works, not necessarily commentaries, which seek their authority in the teachings of the *prajñāpāramitā*-literature, of the *mahāyāna-sūtras*, or of still older traditions, while the second group is concerned with the new theories and practices. There are 137 volumes in the first group as against 86 in the second, and it may be observed that the proportion of works dealing with the *tantras*, which comprised only 22 volumes out of a total of 100 in the 'revealed' part of the canon, far exceeds that of all other 'non-revealed' works. This outweighing proportion becomes even the more impressive, when we recall that whereas the works included in the *mDo-ḥgrel* are the fruit of the whole period of *mahāyāna* development, works produced for the most part between the second and the eighth centuries A.D., those of the *rGyud-ḥgrel* belong precisely to the period in which we are interested, namely from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, the bulk of the works produced probably being concentrated towards the middle of this period. This at least indicates that while the earlier works were in no wise neglected (otherwise they would have found no place at all in the Tibetan Canon), actual creative activity was to be found almost exclusively concerned with the *tantras*. Nor is it just to compare unfavourably the work of these later writers with that of the earlier ones. The two periods, if we may refer to them as such,[1] are in many ways analogous, first the appearance of the authoritative texts (*buddhavacana*), the late appearance of which is explained away in the same manner—they had been hidden away, entrusted to the *nāgas* and so on because mankind was not yet prepared to receive them—followed by the works of individual writers, who comment upon these basic texts, systematize them, and produce treatises of their own dealing with the same themes in well-ordered forms. As literature too the *sūtras* and *tantras* present exactly the same type. They exist in the form of discourses which the Lord Buddha in one of his manifestations is supposed to give to a company of followers, either *bodhisattvas* or divinities, who ask questions and are often astounded at some new pronouncement that is made, new in that it departs in some measure from existing ideas. It is interesting that our anonymous redactors are often aware of the novelties they are introducing, and the consternation of their imaginary hearers in all probability represents the real consternation of some hearers of flesh and blood.[1] The discourses themselves are disordered and rambling, new ideas are just stated authoritatively with no consciousness of any necessity for showing their truth; there are sudden interruptions and long digressions. The language is usually inferior Sanskrit, sometimes betraying its dependence upon an earlier version in the vernacular. It is never possible to date these works with any precision just because they usually have no date, but have developed gradually through several generations of followers within one particular group, for whom they first become authoritative, authoritative in the sense that the pupil learns them from the mouth of his master, and in this way they become the buddha-word—in a very real sense in such a setting, where the word of the master is endowed with so much sanctity. They only assume a fixed form and wider popularity when some master of unusual literary ability and greater scholarship sets about the writing of a commentary, and the work, thereby brought to the notice of masters of equal ability in other schools, begins to extend its influence. When one is thus attempting to recapture the actual setting in which these works were produced, one needs to remember that many more pupils and masters were engaged in making use of these works than the comparative few whose names may be found in the indexes to the Tibetan Canon, and that many more works of an 'authoritative' nature were produced in the schools than those which gained sufficient popularity to permit their inclusion in this great collection.[2]

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[1] This group includes the *Phal-chen*, *dKon-brTsegs*, *mDo-sDe*, and *Myaṅ-ḥdas* sections of the Kanjur. The totals given are those of the Narthang Kanjur edition. Those of the Derge are slightly different: 13, 21, 46, and 20.

[2] Such is the arrangement in the Narthang Tenjur. The Derge edition, however, divides it into seventeen parts: commentaries on the *tantras* (78 vols.), on *prajñāpāramitā* (16), *mādhyamika* works (17), commentaries on *sūtras* (10), *vijñānamātratā* works (16), *abhidharma* (11), *vinaya* (18), *jātaka* (5), epistles (2), logic (20), philology (4), technical works (5), medicine (1), general matters (included in preceding volume), miscellaneous (9), eulogies (1); origins of the doctrine (1). All this material, with the exception of the *tantra*-commentaries and eulogies, is included in the one section of the Narthang edition, and as we are only concerned here with the proportion of works on the *tantras* to other works, such general grouping serves the immediate purpose.

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[1] Such a distinction corresponds with the 'two modes' (*lugs gñis*) of Tibetan Buddhism, the mode of the *sūtras* (*mdo lugs*) and the mode of the *mantras* (*sṅags lugs*). The first group includes all those who are not followers of the *tantras*. There are different ways of distinguishing the various phases of Buddhism, depending upon that aspect of it which one wishes to stress. So far as practice is concerned, it would be difficult to distinguish clearly more than these two periods, since the early schools (*śrāvakas*) and the early followers of the *mahāyāna* pursue much the same methods, the practice of recognized Buddhist morality and the set performance of meditation. (Concerning this see Mircea Éliade, *Yoga*, Paris, 1954, ch. 6.) The *tantras* naturally form a separate period as we shall see. Such a division clearly cuts across the distinction (made according to philosophical development) of the 'three swingings of the wheel', concerning which see Stcherbatsky, 'Die drei Richtungen in der Philosophie des Buddhismus', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. x, pp. 1 ff. This is, however, a tendentious article, written in reply to Schayer's introduction to his *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Prasannapadā*, 1931, and well illustrates the relative nature of these divisions.

Of these two great periods of development, that of the *sūtras* and that of the *tantras*, the first is now comparatively well known in the general course of its progress and in the more detailed aspect of several of its important works, of which a representative selection, *sūtras*, commentaries, and philosophic treatises with their commentaries, has by now appeared in print. There has resulted from this labour a more just appreciation of the Buddhism of this period, which no one would now regard as a mere corruption of the earlier and *ipso facto* 'genuine' Buddhism of the Pāli texts. We find that Buddhism of all periods may be brought into parallel relationship, both as regards theory and practice, with the other religious and philosophical schools of thought which existed at any one time. Their mutual dependence and interrelationship render the whole study extremely complex; it is as yet little worked.[1] Nevertheless there is nothing surprising in this realization, nor in the manner in which it would seem to have proceeded. Men develop ideas with regard to the technique of meditation, with regard to the nature of man and of phenomenal existence as a whole; these ideas receive concrete expression within definite schools; an acknowledged leader arises and through his personal example and influence, his following increases and becomes renowned. During his lifetime his teachings can only be in terms of the concepts then prevalent, although they may be stated with greater authority from a personal realization of their truth or non-truth as the case may be. After his death the teachings still continue logically in his name, developing as ideas develop and absorbing that which can be absorbed without too great a conflict with the body of existing tradition. From some quarters there would always be opposition to new ideas, but the test of whether they were eventually Buddhist or not always consists in their receiving or not receiving sufficient acceptance for their absorption within the body of teaching and practice of any group who called themselves Buddhists. There would always be some who would continue to deny their validity, but they would never be able to produce any cogent authority for their denial, for the axiom would always be: *Yat kiṃ cin Maitreya subhāṣitaṃ tad buddhavacanaṃ*,[2] and it must remain for the masters of each school to decide what within the context of their tradition might be considered well said or not.

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[1] See, e.g., *Hevajra-tantra*, I. x. 14 and II. iv. 66.

[2] There seem to be certain false conceptions on this subject of 'popularity' and 'popularizing'. See, e.g., S. B. Dasgupta, pp. 61–63. It was apparently 'for the sake of the common run of people the *mantras*, the *mudrās*, and the *maṇḍalas* were introduced into Buddhism in the course of time'. This seems to suggest the existence of a 'pure Buddhism' consisting of bare philosophical notions and untramelled virtuous conduct, which at best is nothing more than a European creation of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Ninety-nine per cent. of all Buddhists were the 'common run of people' who had made use of invocations and gestures and circumambulations, at least from the time the first *stūpa* was built. There was never any need to introduce them, and as for the *tantras*, these represent a prescribed and special form, by no means popular, based largely upon practices that were already Buddhist. The rite of *maithuna* seems to be an exception, but even this served to give expression to an existing Buddhist aspiration, namely unity with *prajñā*, and this particular practice seems eventually to have reverted to pure idea.

This whole conception of development, while now generally accepted for the earlier *mahāyāna*, namely that which has its authority in the *sūtras*, has not yet been logically and fairly applied to the later period, namely that of the *tantras*. There is still a tendency to regard them as something corrupt,[3] as belonging to the twilight of Buddhism.[4] They are regarded in fact much as the whole of the *mahāyāna* used to be regarded from the standpoint of the Pāli texts.[1] The reasons for this restricted view are in both cases the same, namely just as the *mahāyāna-sūtras* and the commentaries and treatises associated with them were little known at the end of the last century, so now the *tantras* and their associated works are themselves little known. But on the basis of such small knowledge with regard to them as often exists, they are found to be one of the main causes of the downfall of Buddhism in India, because they either undermined its morale, or removed those distinguishing features by which Buddhism could continue to function as an independent religion. Yet it would seem that as good literature the *sūtras* scarcely excel the *tantras*, nor are their credentials much better. Such commentaries and works of exegesis as I have so far had occasion to refer to are works that show considerable knowledge of their subject, well written and entirely serious in their intention. In no sense are they degenerate or even inferior to the works of earlier commentators on other Buddhist texts. Some are of higher quality than others, but this applies at all times. Nor of course does this period of Buddhism end with the effacement of Buddhism in India, which was probably brought about by physical causes, the destruction of the centres of learning and the absence of royal support; it is simply transferred to Tibet, and after some delay, for the Tibetans had all to learn, it continued afresh in their schools, and although very little indeed of their vast labours has yet been made available to outsiders, such little as there is attests their extraordinary ability.

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[1] An important, if not conclusive, study of the relationship of early Buddhism to the Upanishads, is one by Marya Falk: *Il Mito Psicologico nell' India Antica* (Memoria della Reale Accademia Naz. dei Lincei, vol. 336, Rome, 1939, Scienze Morali). See also Günther, *Das Seelenproblem im älteren Buddhismus*, Kurt Veller Verlag, Konstanz, 1949. Also Przyluski, 'Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad', *BEFEO*, xxxii, pp. 141 ff.; de la Vallée Poussin, 'Le Bouddhisme et le Yoga de Patañjali', *MCB* 5, pp. 223 ff. (bibliography given); de la Vallée Poussin, 'Vedānta and Buddhism', *JRAS* 1910/11, pp. 129 ff.; Stcherbatsky, 'Rapports entre la théorie bouddhique de la connaissance et l'enseignement des autres écoles philosophiques de l'Inde', *Muséon*, 1904, pp. 129 ff.

[2] Quotation from the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodanasūtra*. See *BSOAS* xxi/3, pp. 620–3.

[3] As typical of this view see Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 133.

[4] See also Sylvain Lévi: 'Le Bouddhisme, encore enrichi de donations fréquentes jusqu'au VIII^e siècle, comme en témoignent les inscriptions, n'est plus, dès le siècle suivant qu'un accident sur le sol de l'Inde', *Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. xx, p. 698. Such a view seems now to be pure supposition. For its now manifest historical inaccuracy see ref. p. 1, fn. 2. Is the Tibetan canon, one of the lasting works of this period, but 'un accident'? Not only Tibet, but S. E. Asia attests in its archaeological remains the active influence of tantric Buddhism. See, e.g., Krom, *The Buddhism of Borobuḍur*, vol. ii, pp. 327 ff.

As for the charge that Buddhism ceases to be distinguishable from certain other types of Indian religious practice at this time, this was now no more true than it had ever been. It is indeed true that Buddhist and non-Buddhist *tantras* are based upon similar ideas and often contain similar material, and that many parallels may be obvious, but one may well ask at what previous stage of the doctrine was this not true. The Buddhists now as much as before garbed similar ideas in a distinctive terminology, nor even can we be sure that they were following a lead in introducing these new notions and practices. The followers of the non-Buddhist *tantras* may well have been as dependent upon those who called themselves Buddhists, as the *vedāntists* were probably dependent upon the *mādhyamikas*. These are questions which can only gradually be resolved as these works become better known. Nevertheless it will be seen already in the work here edited that there are notions that are not Buddhist, in the sense that they are not properly assimilated, and so seem to exist in contradiction with the wider context. These will be referred to in due course, and are mentioned now only lest one should be tempted to point to them as showing the non-Buddhist character of the whole. De la Vallée Poussin has well said: 'On

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[1] In protest against this earlier limited view, see de la Vallée Poussin, *BEM*, pp. 1–3.

regarde d'habitude le Tantrisme idolâtre et superstitieux comme "n'étant plus du Bouddhisme"; on oublie que le Bouddhisme n'est pas séparable des bouddhistes, et que les Hindous bouddhistes étaient volontiers idolâtres, superstitieux ou métaphysiciens.'[1]

But if the *tantras* have been neglected it has not been without reason, for it must be conceded that they refer to unpleasant practices on occasions, and sometimes dwell unnecessarily, or at least so it may seem to the modern reader, upon matters that might be touched upon more tactfully. It must further be admitted that even the present translation expunges short passages here and there, in which nothing of value is lost. It would not be fair to expect such sensitiveness on this score from our commentators, and in attempting to interpret these texts one can do no better than follow their lead, for they are the Buddhists who presumably practised these precepts, and it is their Buddhism we are attempting to understand. One may be confident that they deal with them in all seriousness. In the particular yoga practised, physical forces, whether of the seminal power or of the breath, need to be brought under control, and it may be to this process that some of these passages refer. There may be others that permit of a symbolical interpretation, and there are few religions that have not made use of analogous symbolism. Lastly there are the practices used by 'fools', a useful category that disposes of all malpractice.[2] Let it not be thought, however, that one is thereby deliberately explaining away a portion of these works in order to render the rest palatable. We are explaining these works as they were traditionally interpreted and understood. It was the realization of enlightenment that was the goal, and if these means proved efficacious, they might be confidently employed. In this we are aware of a discrepancy existing between the *tantras* themselves and the exegetical works of those who later adopt them, for while the latter never lose sight of the goal which is self-realization, the *tantras* often treat of rites in such a naïve manner as to belie any esoteric intention. In the commentaries one is dealing always with the internal process, or with the internal process as the end envisaged. In the *tantra* itself one is concerned with actual practices in the world without. There are certain very clear examples of this in the *Hevajra-tantra*. Chapter 7 of Part I refers in clear terms to the gatherings that come together at the meeting-places (*melaka*) and one is left in little doubt concerning the actuality of the rites performed there. Yet the commentators will have none of this, and for them there are no places of pilgrimage like those within one's own body. A similar example is to be found in the song of the *yoginīs* at the beginning of Chapter 4 of Part II, for what is this if not a description of such a gathering? Tāranātha even recounts of Kāṇha, who was perhaps the author of the commentary included in this edition, that 'he was when practising the *Samvara-tantra* close to Nālandā, a *ḍākinī* instructed him saying: "At the place of the goddesses called Kāmaru there will be *siddhi* by means of exterior practice, so go and receive it." He went there and found a basket, and when he opened it, there appeared a drum provided with criss-cross cords. As soon as he took it in his hands, his feet ceased to touch the ground, and as he beat upon it violently, *yogins* and *yoginīs*, 500 in number, came from all directions and escorted him' (Tāranātha, *tib. text*, p. 161, ll. 20 ff.). Yet Kāṇha, whose interpretation of this song is translated below (pp. 101–2), is as much concerned as the other commentators to find in it a description of the inner process of reintegration. Likewise there are several references to the eating of some kinds of human flesh. This we have to understand, it seems, as the consuming of the notion of a self, but the *tantra* itself by no means implies this. Here one eats this flesh in order to transform one's own body, so that it may become endowed with the powers of an aerial being. One is often aware that *siddhi* means not so much enlightenment, as perfection in magical powers which here receive first place.

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[1] Id., p. 6.

[2] Thus V commenting upon I. x. 6: 'Then in order to teach fools the way of passion, one should cause to enter in the *maṇḍala* this girl.' (77 *b* 1). Again commenting on II. vii. 5 ff.: 'This is for the understanding of fools who are in the power of passion' (125 *b* 2). Again commenting on II. v. 58 ff.: 'The *siddhi* of passion is not to be obtained by eating flesh and drinking wine and practising sexual union at these external meeting-places (see also p. 69, note 2). For those who think thus, their stock of dharma (*chos kyi phuṅ po*) even though it be 84,000-fold will be rendered ineffective and their effort in yoga, though it be of the best, will come to nought. So when the text says that one gains the *siddhi* of passion by celebrating this gathering with eating and drinking and so on, this can only be for the sake of attracting simple fools' (129 *a* 5–7). See my observation below, which is based on such passages as these—Introduction, p. 17.

No one can reasonably dispute the fact that the basic texts of the *tantras* have this murky and macabre appearance, and it is no excuse to say that 'it is open to any one to sit down and write a *tantra*',[1] for while no doubt all too true, one still must explain why these very same works should become endowed with such esteem.[2] In the solution of this problem real interest should begin, for while the defects of some of these texts are so apparent, still more apparent is the glorious blossoming of human genius which they certainly nourished. Scholars, saints, and artists of first rank appear throughout the succeeding centuries and their works bear testimony to them to this day. In many ways the civilization developed in Tibet is analogous to that of our Middle Ages in the west, and just as here Christianity provided the inspiration and Greece and Rome the model, so there Buddhism was the inspiration and the arts and sciences of India their model. It may indeed appear strange that this Buddhism should be of the kind that bears such close affinities with these often reprehensible texts, but it would be absurd to deny the value of those later developments just because we dislike their origins. Manure nourishes the fairest rose, and we know far too little of the nature of man and of the growth and decline of his civilization, to ignore these particular studies because of personal distaste.

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[1] Woodroofe, *Shakti and Shākta*, p. 577.

[2] Numerous quotations from the *Hevajra-tantra* are to be found in the few works by tantric authors which are so far easily available. See, e.g., the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 26, ll. 7, 24; 27, 9; 32, 10; 33, 13–14; 34, 7–8; 35, 16–19. Bagchi, *Dohākoṣa*, pp. 65, 67, 68, 69, 103, 151, 152, 154, 157. *Sekoddeśaṭikā*, pp. 63, 71.

This present edition presents one of these strange works of ritual, that which circles around the divinity Hevajra and his consort Nairātmyā.[1] It was one of the most renowned of Buddhist *tantras* in India itself, was adopted in Tibet by the Ka-gyü-pas (*bKaḥ-rgyud-pa*) (to which the biography of Rechung bears witness)[2] and the Sa-kya-pas (*Sa-skya-pa*), for whom it became a fundamental treatise to which they devoted much work of exegesis. It was in this rite that the young Khubilai, later to be khan of all the Mongols, was initiated by one of their abbots, *ḥGro-dGon ḥPhags-pa*.

Yet as will be seen, this work has all the defects of its class. Little attention is paid to grammar and even less to scansion. The style is often crude and disjointed, and the whole work shows no logical construction. It would have considerably assisted comprehensibility to have rearranged the material in the translation, but this would have given an entirely false impression of the nature of the work, which already benefits considerably from its transference into English, a claim that may be safely made in this case without any undue sense of personal achievement. It has seemed better therefore to add a bare résumé of the contents (pp. 121–5) and it is hoped that, on the basis of this, the various disjointed parts of the work will fall into place. The translation follows the text faithfully unless indicated in the notes, but no attempt has been made to translate a Sanskrit term with the same word regardless of context. Moreover in some cases it has seemed better to introduce the Sanskrit term itself, which elsewhere may appear translated. To compensate for such freedom, which no readable translation could renounce, the important terms have been separately discussed in the Glossary and an attempt made to fix their meaning (pp. 131–41). Sanskrit words used in Part I and their translations will be found in the Index. The notes accompanying my English rendering are intended to justify and elucidate the translation by appeal to commentaries, from which extracts are made, or by reference to other parts of the work.

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[1] The name Hevajra is itself merely an invocation of the final truth (*vajra*): He Vajra = Tibetan: *Kyeḥi rDorje*; see *Buddhist Himālaya*, p. 73. It sometimes is spelt, however, with the phonetically similar form: *dGyes paḥi rDorje* (*Harṣavajra*, 'Rejoicing Vajra'). This occurs among the 108 names of Vajradhara as listed in the *Tattvasaṃgrahatantra* (Narthang Kanjur, *rgyud* vii, f. 249 *b* 3). The Chinese extends the name into 'Great Vajra of Compassion and Voidness', *ta pei k'ung chin kang*. Concerning these two primary principles, compassion (*karuṇā* = *upāya*) and voidness (*śūnyatā* = *prajñā*) see below, Introduction, pp. 23–24. Nairātmyā is self-explanatory; see p. 24.

[2] This was the first cause of my own interest in the work. Ras-chung made several visits to Nepal in the early twelfth century, where he seems to have met Maitṛpa (*alias* Advayavajra) or a manifestation of him, pp. 23–24, and brought back several works connected with the *Hevajra-tantra*. This account accords with Maitṛpa's known predilection for this *tantra* (see p. 9, note 2). I questioned Professor Tucci, under whose guidance I was then working, concerning this connexion, who gave the best possible answer by placing his manuscript of the *tantra* in my hands.

## II. ORIGINS

There has been occasion already to refer to the realistic nature of parts of the *Hevajra-tantra*, the gatherings at the recognized meeting-places and the rites performed there. With the translation before us, itself sufficiently eloquent, there is little need to draw further attention to them, as it is this aspect of the work which will impress itself all too readily upon the reader. Well may one question the right of these *yogins* to call themselves Buddhists, who experience the consummation of enlightenment in the embrace of a *yoginī*.[1] It is this very act which is regarded as serving the universal good of living-beings. Thereafter the pupil is free to pursue the practice of strenuous meditation and physical self-control, and after five years or more he will perhaps succeed.[2] He receives the five symbolic adornments, crown, ear-rings, necklace, bracelets, girdle, signs of his success.[3] These he wears on those set occasions, the eighth or fifteenth day of the dark-fortnight, when perfected *yogins* and *yoginīs* come together, to consume the flesh and wine, to sing and dance, and realize their consummation of bliss.[4] He is free from all conventions and wanders as he pleases, knowing no distinction between friend or foe, clean or unclean, good or evil.[5]

Such is the circle in which our *tantra* has its origin, amidst outcasts and voluntary outcasts, who reassert their position by means of the powers with which they become credited, and it is by their success that they are vindicated. 'Because in the early stages these men were very careful and guarded the secret, no one knew that they were practising the secret *mantras*, until they actually became possessed of magical powers (*vidyā-dhara*). But when they had these powers, travelling in the sky or becoming invisible, then it was known conclusively that they were practisers of *mantras*. On account of this (secrecy) there was but very little handing down of traditional teachings from master to pupil (that can be traced), and although there had been much study devoted to the *kriyā-* and *caryātantras* from the time when the *mahāyāna* began to spread, as they were practised very much in secret, no one knew who was studying them except for those actually engaged in these secret *mantras*' (Tāranātha, *tib. text*, p. 82, ll. 15 ff.).

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[1] See II. ii. c, II. iii. b.

[2] See II. ii. a. The period of five years is suggested by some of the biographies of the eighty-four *siddhas*. In every case several years of practice were required from the time consecration was received from a master. Thus Ṭaṅkadāsa required three years (*EM*, p. 99), Saroruha 12 (*EM*, p. 46), Kampala 12 (*VZ*, p. 176). Mahāpadmavajra, however, succeeded in one year (*EM*, p. 43) and Jālandhari instantaneously (*EM*, p. 59). It is generally agreed that years of strenuous practice were required. One may also compare in this respect the biography of Mi-la Ras-pa.

[3] See I. vi. a.

[4] See I. vii, II. iv. a, II. vii. b.

[5] See I. vi. b, II. iii. h.

'Many *anuttarayogatantras* of profound import were brought to light by individual masters—the *Hevajra* by Kampala and Saroruha' (id., p. 209, ll. 15 and 18). They were considered to be of profound import because they had developed certain powerful means of mental and physical control, which if practised rightly, seemed to lead with certainty to that state of spiritual equipoise which had always been the chief goal of Indian religious endeavour. These 'individual masters', the first sponsors of these works, are known collectively in both Indian and Tibetan tradition as the eighty-four Perfected Ones (*siddhas*), and it is therefore in their biographies that one must seek knowledge of the first transmissions. There are two complete collections of these biographies preserved in Tibetan, one in the canon itself and the other in the works of Tāranātha.[1] Separate biographies also appear in the histories of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism by Bu-sTon, gŹon-nu-dPal, Padma dKar-po, and Tāranātha. There is then no shortage of such material, and in portraying the lives of these men, or the lives they were believed to lead (which for the study of the nature of a religion is just as important) it is of considerable assistance. But when one seeks to bring them into an historical framework, one is presented with the great difficulty of one master often possessing more than one name, and of several masters possessing the same name. This is all the more unfortunate in that it affects chiefly the more important names, just because of the renown that attached to them.

Thus SARORUHA, who is credited with bringing our *tantra* to light, and whose interest in it is proved by his writing of the commentary which is often quoted below, and of several short works (*sādhana*, *vidhi*, *stotra*)[2] concerned with the Hevajra cycle, has also the name of Padmavajra, and there were many with this name, as Tāranātha himself informs us.[3] Both he and Kampala, who although also credited with the finding of this *tantra*, has only one short work to his name on the theme,[4] appear as contemporaries of King Indrabhūti, but there are three Indrabhūtis. One is certainly led to mistrust such a multiplying of some of these names, but it is impossible to discriminate against them until their works become better known, and one may then be able to reject some as barren. In the meantime one's selection of facts from this material is to some extent arbitrary and certainly subject to later correction.

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[1] These are the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bźiḥi lo rgyus*, the first work in vol. 86 of the Narthang Tenjur, translated by Grünwedel as 'Die vierundachtzig Zauberer' in *Baessler Archiv*, vol. 5, and the *bKaḥ babs bdun ldan* of Tāranātha, edited by Sarat Candra Das (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1901) and translated by Grünwedel as *Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine*, Petrograd, 1914. For a general discussion of these *siddhas* and a comparison of their various name-lists see Tucci, *TPS*, pp. 226–32. Of the histories Tāranātha's (Schiefner's edition, Petrograd, 1868) is the most useful.

[2] These are to be found in the Narthang Tenjur, vol. xxi.

[3] See Schiefner, p. 188.

[4] See vol. II, pp. vii–viii.

Now Tāranātha gives a succession of names that would fit quite well, and also provides the connecting link that is needed with a second succession.[1]

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|---|---|---|
| INDRABHŪTI I | | AŚVAPADA |
| \| | | \| |
| MAHĀPADMAVAJRA | | VILASYAVAJRĀ |
| \| | | \| |
| ANAṄGAVAJRA | | VAJRAGHAṆṬA |
| \| | | \| |
| **Saroruha** | | **Kampala** |
| \| | | \| |
| INDRABHŪTI II | = | INDRABHŪTI II |

Indrabhūti II receives instruction from both Saroruha and Kampala, which brings them together both in time and place. There is also another connecting link. Elsewhere in his history, Tāranātha refers to Ḍombi-heruka both as preceding Saroruha and Kampala and as having taken an initial interest in the *Hevajra-tantra* of which he receives the quintessence (*sāra*);[2] furthermore his association with this cycle is confirmed by the existence of an invocation of Nairātmyā and her troupe written in his name and drawn from our *tantra* (*Sādhanamālā* 228). His seniority to Saroruha and Kampala, Tāranātha confirms quite incidentally in the biographies, when he makes him a contemporary of Vilasyavajrā.[3]

From Indrabhūti II the succession continues through Jālandhari to KṚṢṆA (or KĀṆHA), author of the *Yogaratnamālā*, one of the few commentaries on the *Hevajra-tantra* which is all but complete in Sanskrit and the full text of which it has seemed useful to give in this edition.[4]

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[1] *EM*, pp. 40–49 and 49–58.

[2] See Schiefner, p. 192.

[3] See *EM*, p. 50.

[4] See *EM*, p. 43. To identify this particular Kṛṣṇa with any certainty at the present stage of our knowledge seems impossible. An attempt has already been made by Shahidullah (*Chants Mystiques*, pp. 24–29). Jālandhari is referred to with respect in one of the songs (no. 9, p. 115), and Shahidullah, assured of this connexion, associates this Kṛṣṇa with the one referred to by Tāranātha, Schiefner, p. 195, where Jālandhari and Kṛṣṇa appear as contemporaries of a certain king Govicandra, who, again according to Tāranātha, was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti. On the basis of this and still less certain evidence (q.v.) he places Kṛṣṇa about A.D. 700. Such a Kṛṣṇa, a name all too common, may well have lived at this time, but our accounts clearly conflict, unless we also assume the existence of at least two Jālandharis, one the master of Shahidullah's Kṛṣṇa, and the other the master of the Kṛṣṇa who lived under King Devapāla (Schiefner, p. 211) and was experienced in the *Hevajra-tantra*, &c. He was certainly a pupil of Jālandhari (also adept in the *Hevajra-tantra*) and their succession is given (*EM*, p. 43) in a manner which accords completely with my present requirements. The master of Jālandhari is Indrabhūti II, not Indrabhūti I, a distinction Shahidullah fails to make when he refers to this passage. It would upset his calculations by at least 100 years. Kṛṣṇa was a common name and the various persons who bore it are not distinguished. There may well have been one who lived about 700, and it may be he who is mentioned at *EM*, p. 40. At Schiefner, p. 195 he seems to be confused with someone else (Schiefner, p. 244) who lived much later under King Govicandra, who Tāranātha informs us (Schiefner, p. 197) preceded Lalitacandra *who was the last of the*

Now as for dates we have two *points d'appui*. Mahāpadmavajra may be identified with Padmasambhava, adopted son of Indrabhūti, who goes to Tibet in the second half of the eighth century, while Kāṇha at this end of the series is stated by Tāranātha to have been a contemporary of King Devapāla, who ruled in the first half of the ninth century. We thus have the *Hevajra-tantra* existing in its present form towards the end of the eighth century. This may yet be confirmed by the short passages of *apabhraṃśa* which are to be found in it, when more work has been done upon this dialect.

With Tāranātha we may follow the succession through KĀṆHA to BHADRAPADA, the author of yet another commentary on the *Hevajra-tantra*, which we shall frequently have occasion to quote.[1] He in turn gave instruction

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*Candra dynasty*. The last two kings of the Candra dynasty were Govindacandra and Layahacandra and are assigned to the first half of the eleventh century (*Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. i, p. 385). This dating still further demolishes the evidence which Shahidullah adduces to substantiate the existence of his Kṛṣṇa in A.D. 700. Under Devapāla (first half of ninth century) there is another Kṛṣṇa, for whom in accordance with *EM*, p. 43 (and since Shahidullah has now no claim) I accept Jālandhari as master. This Kṛṣṇa, expert in the *Hevajratantra* (Schiefner, p. 211), may be presumed to be the author of one of the commentaries on the *Hevajratantra* written in this name. There are two such commentaries, one the *Yogaratnamālā*, preserved in Sanskrit and included in this edition, and the other the *Smṛtiniṣpatti*, a shorter work existing in Tibetan translation. A certain Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita co-operated in the task of translating the *Yogaratnamālā* into Tibetan, and if he were also author of the other text, one might presume that the *Yogaratnamālā* was the ninth-century work, but there is no internal evidence to support this. The Tibetan *lotsava*, mGos-lha-btsas, who translated the commentary of Ratnākaraśānti (*c.* 1100) also translated the *Smṛtiniṣpatti*, which could suggest a comparably late date for this commentary also. This almost negligible evidence would favour the *Yogaratnamālā* as the work of the Kṛṣṇa of the early ninth century, which I accept as a convenient but merely provisional identification. I referred above to the unsatisfactory nature of these biographies, and it has seemed best to place all this doubtful discussion in a note, leaving a simple and plausible scheme in the Introduction itself. It is certainly satisfactory to find that the dating of all the *siddhas* I am interested in accords with the genealogical table laboriously worked out by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his article on the eighty-four *siddhas* (*JA* 225, 1934, pp. 218 ff.). He gives only one Kṛṣṇa, a pupil of Jālandhari, and assigned to the early ninth century. According to Tāranātha (*EM*, p. 69) the Jālandhari who was a contemporary of King Govicandra (the corner-stone of Shahidullah's construction—Schiefner, p. 195) was a fourth incarnation of this *siddha*, so there would be little difficulty in assigning him to the eleventh century. In fairness to Shahidullah it must be said that Tāranātha makes no mention of this in his history and records the event there as though it preceded the whole Pāla dynasty, and actually makes this king contemporary with Dharmakīrti. The confusion therefore exists in the sources at our disposal, where the same name can continually reappear. See also Tucci, *A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and some questions connected with Nāgārjuna* (*JRASB* xxvi, pp. 138–58), where this same problem is discussed. It seems, however, that Shahidullah may well be wrong in the dates he ascribes to the *Chants Mystiques*. The songs in early Bengali may perhaps belong to the eleventh century while the *dohās* in *apabhraṃśa* are likely to be earlier. The language appears to be at the same stage as the few verses that appear in the *Hevajra-tantra*, and there is no reason for assuming that the old Bengali verses and the *dohās* are by the same Kṛṣṇa.

[1] *EM*, p. 71. This is a plausible connexion. I assume that the author of the *Śrīhevajravyākhyāvivaraṇa*, given as Bhaṭa źabs in the colophon of the Narthang edition, is the Bhadrapada, alias Guhya, here referred to. The *Ui* catalogue (Derge canon) attributes this same work to Bhavabhadra. A certain Bhavabhadra was abbot of Vikramaśīla, fourth in succession from Buddhajñānapāda, who was contemporary with King Dharmapāla. It would be possible to identify him with the author of our commentary.

to Tillopa, who, as is well known, was the master of NĀROPA, the author of yet another commentary, and the connecting link with the Tibetan line of the Ka-gyü-pas.[1] Nāropa lived in the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh. To this same period belong ṬAṄKADĀSA,[2] a monk of Nālandā, and RATNĀKARAŚĀNTI[3] of Vikramaśīla, both also writers of commentaries on this *tantra*.

Of the commentators there remain two of importance who are not listed amongst the 84 *Siddhas*, DHARMAKĪRTI and VAJRAGARBHA. In his history Tāranātha writes of Dharmakīrti, the logician, whom he regards, however, as a follower of the *tantras*, naming Vajraghaṇṭa or Dārika or Teṅgi as his *vajrācārya*.[4] All these three are in any case contemporaries, belonging to the latter half of the eighth century. It is therefore not unreasonable to deduce the existence of a second Dharmakīrti, author of the commentary on the *Hevajra-tantra* that exists in his name, presuming this to have been written early in the ninth century.

VAJRAGARBHA presents a more difficult problem. His commentary is the longest and by far the most useful, for there is little he leaves unexplained. He gives not only the figurative 'internal' meaning of the practices mentioned, in which the other commentators are usually alone interested, but uncovers also the actual rite involved. At the same time he does not fail to note the futility of such performances.[5] This commentary is admirably presented, each chapter being introduced by a separate verse, while the whole is preceded by a long introduction in verse, in which he laments the existence of those evil masters, who seek only wealth and enjoyment under cover of the doctrine, and impose upon their trusting pupils. He assumes himself and is given in the colophon the title of the *Bodhisattva* Vajragarbha, a religious name presumably adopted from the *tantra* itself, where Vajragarbha is the chief interlocutor. He therefore remains completely anonymous. The colophon in the Tenjur states that this commentary, 'hard to get', was obtained in Nepal from Maitṛpa by the monk-translator Prajñākīrti of ḥBro (*Lotsaba ḥBro dGe-sloṅ Śes-rab Grags-pa*). Maitṛpa lived in the eleventh century.

In his introduction Vajragarbha states that our version of the *Hevajra-tantra*, which consists of two parts (*kalpa*) and 750 *ślokas*, is but the shorter version of the original work which had thirty-two parts and 500,000 *ślokas*. The Chinese translation repeats a similar tradition, explaining the work as two sections from an original thirty-one. Bu-sTon also lists among the lost parts of the canon a version of this *tantra* in 100,000 *ślokas*.[1] Each *tantra*, he says, consists of a great number of fundamental and explanatory *tantras*. This of course is likely and it was presumably on the basis of a large amount of such floating material that an authorized text would become established. The fact that one and the same version appears in all the commentaries and in the Tibetan and Chinese translations certainly bears witness to the strength of the tradition when once this had come about. There are no means of checking nor indeed grounds for disputing Tāranātha's assertion (quoted above) that Kampala and Saroruha brought the work to light (*spyan-drans*), which certainly involved fixing its present form as Saroruha's commentary proves. At the same time the existence of other versions, at least of parts of the text, is attested by some of the short works in the *Sādhanamālā*. One may see, for example, no. 228 (already referred to above on p. 13) which is said to come from the *Hevajra-tantra*, and bears close affinities with Chapters 3 and 8 in Part I of our version, some of the verses being identical. It is of interest to observe that Ḍombī-heruka, to whom it is attributed, precedes Saroruha, and so writes perhaps before the fixing of the text, as also does Anaṅgavajra, author of another short *sādhana* preserved in the Tenjur (*rGyud*, xxi. 246–7). All the *sādhanas* of Nairātmyā preserved in the *Sādhanamālā* are by their very nature related. The two opening *ślokas* of no. 229 correspond exactly with our text II. viii. 6–7. One is here on the edge of a very large problem, for there are remnants of the basic material of not only the *Hevajra-tantra* but of several *tantras*, material which must have been sufficiently extensive to give rise to the notion of original works of the fantastic length of 500,000 *ślokas*. Nor, knowing the Indian genius for the producing of works which at least begin to approximate to these proportions, can one discount altogether the possibility of the existence of other and longer versions. This is borne out by a reference in our text itself (I. xi. 12), where we are told that the full *sādhana* of Kurukullā is given in twelve parts, which the commentators refer to the long version (*vistīrṇahevajratantra*). There are a large number of *sādhanas* of this goddess in the *Sādhanamālā*, which are by no means the special preserve of the *Hevajra-tantra*, where her only reason for intrusion is her association with the rite of *vaśya*, 'subduing', in which she is specially proficient. Nevertheless the reference to the existence of this longer version stands, and for the present must remain unexplained. It is only strange that if such a longer version existed, the commentators should not have made some use of it.

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[1] *EM*, p. 71.

[2] *EM*, p. 99. Ṭaṅkadāsa (Kayasthavṛddha) lived in the reign of Mahīpāla (978–1026) and taught Durhari who taught Mahāvajrāsana, a contemporary of Atīśa (982–1054).

[3] For the life of Ratnākaraśānti see *EM*, pp. 105–9. He was a pupil of Nāropa, *EM*, p. 79.

[4] Schiefner, p. 177. Vajraghaṇṭa and Dārika appear as contemporaries, *EM*, p. 51, and Dārika and Teṅgi appear together, Schiefner, p. 127.

[5] See p. 8, note 2.

Yet there is another version, which Vajragarbha constantly and Nāropa occasionally quotes. In his introduction Vajragarbha announces his intention of explaining the short version of 750 *ślokas* which comes out of the long version of 500,000 *ślokas* 'in conformity with the basic tantra (*mūlatantra*), the fundamental text of 6,000 *ślokas*'. He confuses the matter by sometimes referring to this work as the 'basic *tantra* of 500,000 *ślokas*', a confusion which probably arises from vagueness concerning this long version the existence of which tradition maintained. The actual passages that he quotes, come from no normal *tantra*; they are always explanatory and doctrinal, and it is to this work that he frequently refers when he is seeking the figurative meaning of a passage. As a typical example one may refer to the matter of the corpse (p. 71). Again the tree and cemetery mentioned in I. vi. 6 are explained in a quotation as referring to the human body when the breath no longer roams about. Still more clearly, in introducing his discussion of Chapter 7 he says: 'From this short version just as it is taught one learns the obvious meaning (*neyārtha*); the real meaning (*nītārtha*) is to be learned from the *Mūlatantra*.'

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[1] Obermiller, p. 170.

Now this is a statement of considerable general significance, for while the *tantra* itself was intended to be understood in its obvious (and be it added in its often reprehensible) sense, the leaders of this new period persist in regarding it in a figurative sense, for which it provided means of expression, such as had never been fully realized at any previous stage in the development of Buddhism. It is misleading to pretend that the doctrine was now suddenly invaded and swamped with popular and superstitious practices. This tendency existed at all times, for the Buddhists were Hindus, as there has been occasion to observe above. It is true that new ideas, some of a quite revolutionary character, now gradually enter and transform the whole doctrine, but in no sense were these new practices popular. They are based upon schemes of extreme complexity and circumscribed with all the authority of fixed traditions. The names of divinities employed may be of popular origin, but here they are endowed for the initiated with a far more profound significance, and this has the far-reaching effect of uniting in a common symbolism the aspirations of the enlightened and the simple-minded, which in any organized religion is a matter of strength and not of decrepitude. This was not a conscious intention on the part of the innovators, who were primarily concerned with their own means of release. Moreover the names that give substance to the symbolic patterns of the *Hevajra-tantra* are for the most part not even popular divinities, but the names of some of the lowest of Indian castes, and they appear there because women of these castes had been employed and presumably still were employed whenever 'fools' actually performed these rites. They persist as part of the figurative interpretation, simply because they were already there, and any set of names would serve the purpose, when once given the authority of a tradition.

As this *mūlatantra* in common with other works of exegesis concentrates on the figurative sense, it is probably the work of some recognized master, and not impossibly of that writer himself who goes by the name of Vajragarbha. On my observation Nāropa, the only other commentator to quote it,[1] quotes nothing that does not already appear in Vajragarbha's text, and from which he may well have extracted it. The connexion between Nāropa and Maitṛpa[2] in whose hands the work reposed was very close. I remain persuaded that this particular 'basic text' is in any case later than the *tantra* itself and the early commentators, SARORUHA, KĀṆHA, BHADRAPADA, and DHARMAKĪRTI and unknown to ṬAṄKADĀSA and RATNĀKARAŚĀNTI.

The fact that there is only one known version of the *tantra*, apart from the fragments of similar material referred to above (p. 16) increases the likelihood of Saroruha's merely having given circulation to an already existing text, to the age of which it becomes difficult to set a term until more *tantras* have been individually studied. The work was probably in dialect; hence the serious defects in scansion, when it was roughly sanskritized. The passages that remain in dialect may therefore reflect in their linguistic forms the period in which the sanskritized version was produced, and not the date of the work itself. Tibetan tradition would in general consider the *tantras* as old as the *sūtras*, explaining their relatively late appearance by the secrecy with which they were transmitted. This, however, is unconvincing, for these texts only began to have importance for Buddhism when they were brought into the open, and one may err as much by laying stress on their secrecy as their supposed popularity. The rites and practices prescribed in them probably derive from considerably earlier times. All that is new is their adoption of a Buddhist garb, and this with complete disregard of the contradictions that exist. It is this stage that the *tantra* itself represents, but nothing will be gained by hazarding a guess of the date of this process. The amount of material still awaiting exploration is vast, and much will be gained from a comparison of a few of the fundamental texts. We know, for example, from the *Hevajra-tantra* itself that it was written after the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.[3] Not only does our text refer specifically (II. v. 57) to this work, but from internal evidence there is no doubt that it is earlier.

What is of interest to us now is the manner in which these texts were accepted as part of the established order of Buddhism. They are transferred from their weird and seemingly unhealthy setting to the schools and monasteries. They no longer describe those orgiastic gatherings of *yogins* and *yoginīs*, but the inner process of self-integration of a man in meditation, and the enemy against whom the fierce rite of slaying is directed is the notion of his own substantiality.

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[1] It is also quoted frequently in the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, a work also attributable to Nāropa.

[2] Concerning Maitṛpa see *TPS* i, p. 232.

[3] To be found in the Narthang Kanjur *rGyud*, vii, fols. 213 ff. An early Skr. MS. of this work has recently been discovered by Prof. J. Brough and myself in Nepal. It will be published in due course.

## III. SUBJECT-MATTER

### *The Philosophical Basis*

Any form of mysticism, unless restrained by reason, is liable to find philosophical expression in a theory of absolute unity. Convinced of the essential reality of the mystical experience itself, a man may deny reality to rational and sensual experience, which can only realize itself in diversity. Philosophically this denial can be expressed in various and apparently contradictory ways; they are only apparently contradictory because the essential idea remains unchanged, namely that the one goal of all endeavour is to be found in mystical experience. It may also be asserted (as is done by the *Mādhyamikas*) that any attempt at philosophical expression is necessarily contradictory, because of its nature philosophical disquisition belongs to the sphere of diversity, and is therefore at best only relative to particular needs. While therefore one may reasonably speak of the development of Buddhist thought in an historical context, one remains aware that the practical end which they are seeking to define, or of which they deny any possible definition, as the case may be, is necessarily the same, for all their schools are essentially mystical. Philosophical as much as theological means of expression will affect the type of practice and therefore the type of mystical experience until it reaches the summit of achievement, the 'point' (*bindu*), which can know of no diversity.

The theory of the one goal is itself, however, a philosophical development, finding expression in Buddhism in the doctrine of the 'One Way' (*ekayāna*), as also is the theory of relativity, of the essential non-substantiality (*niḥsvabhāva*) or voidness (*śūnyatā*) of things. Both these theories could have had serious consequences for the later development of Buddhism, for if there is but one way, this may be understood as all ways being equally good, and if all doctrine is thus relative, then the choice between this doctrine and that, Buddhist or non-Buddhist, is a matter of expediency, of finding the most effective means towards the end that is sought. But in actual fact the consequences were by no means so devastating, for the *Mādhyamikas* were not the only philosophers, and it is in this period that the final great synthesis of Buddhist teaching was evolved, and the concepts of the earlier period (*abhidharma*) brought into relationship with the new philosophical theory of absolute unity, which was now in vogue in all schools. The teachings, which in theory at least were threatened by the *Mādhyamikas*, were established on a new and sure foundation by the *Yogācāras*. Both are equally convinced of the reality of the mystical experience, but whereas the one asserts the non-substantiality of all experience and the indeterminability of any absolute itself, the other asserts the absolute existence of the one unity which contains potentially the twofold division into this and that, into subject (*grāhaka*) and object (*grāhya*), and so on into ever greater diversity.

This absolute is defined as thought in its pure condition, as 'just thought' (*cittamātra*), freed from all accidental (*āgantuka*) defiling processes. These defiling processes, the notion of self and other and of all sensual and rational experience, are in themselves as non-existent as the *Mādhyamikas* conceived of them, but for the *Yogācāras* they repose upon a basis, for they are reflections of pure thought, possessing such reality as the reflection of things in a mirror, in manifestation unreal but essentially real.

But the *Mādhyamikas* cannot admit this distinction. For them essence (*svabhāva*) and manifestation (*utpāda*) are equally unreal, or in terms of actual experience: 'Between *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* there is not the slightest shade of difference.'[1]

Now the basic philosophical position of the *tantras* is *Mādhyamika*. It asserts the fundamental unity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, of mystical and sensual experience, and it regards all means as relative to the needs of the practiser. It is in fact in the *tantras* that are realized to some extent the serious consequences referred to above, but only to some extent, for the process is checked by the conservative tendencies represented by the *Yogācāras*, and the whole movement remains essentially Buddhist after all, as subsequent developments show.

In the *Hevajra-tantra* the basic philosophic conceptions are assumed. Chapter 5 of Part I which has the title of 'Reality' (*tattva*) devotes only two *ślokas* to the subject:

> In reality there is neither form nor seer,
>     neither sound nor hearer,
> Neither smell nor one who smells,
>     neither taste nor taster,
> Neither touch nor one who touches,
>     neither thought nor thinker.

In elaboration of what has been said above it may be of help to quote in full Kāṇha's comments on this verse.[2] '*Form* refers to blue and all other attributes. It is all this that does not exist. Yet how does it not exist, for one certainly sees it? It does not exist in its essential nature. An essential nature should be uncreate, transcendent, non-contingent, self-comprising, and in this capacity it does not exist, because it arises from dependent causation. And then what is this arising in dependent causation? It is in fact the non-arising of things. For if the essential nature of a thing existed before its appearance, then it would be independent of any other cause in its assumption of substantiality (and therefore there would be no arising). But if it is dependent on another cause, then the non-substantiality of a thing is proved. So Nāgārjuna has said: "Essential nature is uncreate and independent of anything else, and if phenomenal things have no such essential nature, then essentially they are non-existent."[1]

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[1] Stcherbatsky, *Nirvāṇa*, p. 77. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, p. 535.
[2] Vol. II, p. 116.

But how then do forms in all their variety appear? For foolish people they do indeed appear to exist, but their essential nature is not proved by their mere appearance. To people who have defective sight do not things such as hairs or a double moon, or marks like that on a peacock's tail or bees appear in the vision? If they perceive these things because of their defective sight, then others in just the same way, the eyes of their mind affected with the myopia of ignorance, see everything which is essentially non-existent, as though it actually existed before them, just as the man of defective sight perceives the hairs. But not so the noble ones, for the eyes of their minds see beyond the defects of ignorance. And so the Bodhisattva Sarvavivaraṇaviṣkambhin praised the Lord Buddha, saying: "O Lord, when you turn the wheel of the doctrine, the elements assume their absolute state, calm from all time, from all time non-arisen, extinguished in their own nature."[2]

Thus it is established that form and the rest are essentially non-existent. Then it is said: "there is no seer". This refers to the perceiver of form, to the eye and the consciousness associated with it. Neither do these exist, since there is no arising of anything whatsoever, and it is the same with sound and the rest.

Then it is said: "there is no thought". Thought (*citta*) refers to consciousness in an absolute condition (*pariniṣpanna*) and thoughts (*caittika*) refer to it as contingent (*paratantra*) and imagined (*vikalpita*). These three aspects of thought are also non-existent from the standpoint of absolute truth. But how are they non-existent, and how about those words pronounced by the Lord: "The whole threefold world, O Sons of the Conquerors, consists in nothing but thought"?[3] True enough, but this is spoken in order to turn those who are to be converted away from their attachment to form and so on. In this respect Nāgārjuna has said: "The teaching of the Sage which says: 'All this is but Thought', is spoken to remove the fears of the simple-minded, but in reality it is not so."[1] So neither does thought exist from the standpoint of absolute truth.'

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[1] *MMK*, p. 262.

[2] Quoted from *Ratnameghasūtra* (Narthang Kanjur *mDo*, xviii. 1–175). See *MMK*, p. 225.

[3] Quoted at the opening of Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā*, ed. Sylvain Lévi, *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, Paris, 1925. For the origin of the quotation, see Sylvain Lévi, *Matériaux pour l'étude du système vijñaptimātra*, p. 43. Also quoted in *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 19 and *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 18, ll. 1–2.

Thus the mystic realization, which is the highest goal (*para*) and the one reality (*tattva*) is expressed philosophically in negative terms. 'The *yogin* gains fulfilment (*siddhi*) in that which is no fulfilment, for its characteristic is the very absence of any characteristic.'[2] But this same nature, which consists in absence of characteristics (*alakṣaṇa*) and absence of essential substantiality (*niḥsvabhāva*) is also the nature of phenomenal existence (*bhava*), which was indicated above when it was said: 'there is no form, &c.' In this sense it has been said that the mystic realization (= *nirvāṇa*) is the same as the world of everyday experience (= *saṃsāra*) which is therefore in truth already enlightened (*buddhamaya*). 'Such as is *nirvāṇa*, such is *saṃsāra*. There is no *nirvāṇa* other than *saṃsāra*, we say. *Saṃsāra* consists in form and sound and so on, in feeling and the other constituents of personality, in the faculties of sense, in wrath, delusion and the rest. But all these elements are really *nirvāṇa*, and only from delusion (*moha*) do they appear as *saṃsāra*.'[3] But if *saṃsāra* is really *nirvāṇa*, then all men are already *buddhas*. 'All beings are *buddhas*, but this is obscured by accidental defilement (*āgantukamala*). When this is removed, they are *buddhas* at once, of this there is no doubt.'[4]

## *The Theory of 'Two-in-One'*

The purpose of the practice therefore is to remove these apparent defilements, which arise from nothing more than a false view of existence as it already is. The whole training consists in learning to conceive of existence in knowledge of its non-existence, and one will then automatically realize its true nature which is innate (*sahaja*) and a matter for self-experience (*svasaṃvedya*). But this can only be done by using existence itself as the means (*upāya*) for there is no other possible.[5] One creates mentally (*bhāvayati*) an idealized representation of the process of emanation of existence (*utpattikrama*) which is the *saṃsāra*, and by realizing the dream-like nature of its apparent diversity, one realizes its unity in this process of realization (*saṃpannakrama*), which is *nirvāṇa*.[6]

Such, briefly, is the theory, and it is clear that by its very nature it does not lend itself to rational investigation, in terms of which it may appear as just nonsense, a charge it would not attempt to refute, for in reply it is content to make nonsense of rational investigation itself.[7] Any discussion of its practices is also subject to limitation, for distinctions are made, only so that they may be later denied, and therefore the schemes in which one may attempt to arrange the various categories for a better understanding of them, may at any place appear contradictory, for the ideas which one thought one had reduced to some order by placing them in some opposing relationship, now suddenly appear as identical. If one assumes this identity from the start, then no distinction of the terms is possible and likewise no discussion. I must therefore beg much goodwill and patience of my reader, if he is to follow me through this attempted explanation.

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[1] Also quoted in *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 20. Otherwise untraced.

[2] See I. x. 20.

[3] See II. iv. 32–34.

[4] See II. iv. 69; also 61–64 and 73–75.

[5] See II. ii. 46–51.

[6] See II. ii. 29.

[7] See K's quotation, vol. II, p. 104, fn., taken from *MMV*, p. 127.

The yogin who sets out on this course, begins in an apparent duality. He desires, and may to some extent already have tasted, the mystical experience (= *nirvāṇa*), but at the same time he lives normally in a world of sensual practical experience (*saṃsāra*). In so far as the early Buddhists (*śrāvakas*) had sought *nirvāṇa* in a deliberate stopping of the process of *saṃsāra*, such mystical experience as they achieved was limited and imperfect. It was not the end as they had thought, but merely a stage. Moreover it was limited because it was personal and therefore selfish. To bring about a cessation (*nirodha*) of phenomenal existence (= *duḥkha*) for oneself amounted to disregard of the sorry plight of others. Now the early *mahāyāna* had already redressed this balance in its theory of the course of the *bodhisattva*. Such a one aspired to perfect enlightenment (*samyaksaṃbodhi*) and this end depended as much upon the accumulation of merit (*puṇyasaṃbhara*) as upon that of knowledge (*jñānasaṃbhara*). This last might be achieved by the practice of meditation, but the first depended upon practical effort. Thus while the sphere of knowledge might seem to be *nirvāṇa*, the sphere of effort exists in *saṃsāra*. The motive force of the one is wisdom (*prajñā*) and of the other compassion (*karuṇā*). Hence of all the perfections (*pāramitā*) of a *bodhisattva*, those of wisdom and self-sacrifice (*dāna*) are the two most extolled. Now among these perfections there is one of skill in means (*upāyakauśalya*), referring to those means by which a *bodhisattva* should exercise his compassion. In the total list of perfections where it appears as the seventh it receives no special significance. In the *tantras*, however, the 'perfections' generally belong to an inferior practice that has been transcended, but two of them remain, endowed now with a deepened significance. One of these is Wisdom which is identified explicitly with *nirvāṇa* and the other is Means (or Compassion) which is identified with *saṃsāra*. The highest truth is therefore frequently referred to as a mingling of Wisdom and Means, in that it is a realization of the essential sameness of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*. To call anything the essence of Wisdom and Means, as the *Hevajra-tantra* is called on its first page, is to claim for it the nature of supreme truth, and to resolve Hevajra's name into two parts, HE meaning compassion and VAJRA meaning wisdom, is to identify him with supreme being. One must be aware that these are arbitrary identifications to suit the particular case, and that whereas *Vajra* here, and frequently elsewhere, symbolizes one of the coefficients of truth, it may also stand for the whole truth itself. The constant and deliberate identifying of a part with the whole is one of the chief difficulties in clear exposition. Wisdom is represented by the lotus (*padma*) or the bell (*ghaṇṭā*). The two ritual objects of *vajra* and bell with their known significance continue in use in Tibet to this day.

In this union Wisdom, although unrealizable apart from Means, yet predominates. It has behind it the whole tradition of the Perfection of Wisdom, already actually symbolized in a feminine divinity, the Goddess Prajñāpāramitā. She is therefore herself the supreme truth of the Void (*śūnyatā*) which is the Perfection of Wisdom; in the *Hevajra-tantra* she is Nairātmyā, 'absence of the notion of selfhood', and it is in her that the yogin, as Means, is consubstantiated.[1]

At the same time this final and indestructible truth, which is also symbolized by the *vajra*, may appear under a masculine aspect, a form no doubt more congenial to monastic Buddhism, for it was the male figure of a buddha which first received iconographic form. Then, as now, the purpose of these figures was that they should serve as means towards identification with the idea expressed.[2] Therefore the male divinity, whichever iconographic type be chosen, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, or as in our *tantra*, Hevajra, comprehends the whole truth, as much as does the Goddess Prajñāpāramitā. In order to emphasize the essential identity of the idea the female form is made to transmute into the male,[3] and the two which are thus identified are *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*.

It is this dominating notion of 'two-in-one' (Tibetan: *zuṅ-ḥjug*) upon which the whole complicated structure of the *tantras* is reared, and this applies to its philosophy, its theology (if we may grace it with the name), and its practice of yoga. If one is therefore prepared to understand it, one must expect to meet with sexual symbolism at every turn, and this can only cease to be burdensome if one is able to see beyond the symbols to the ideas. The power and (in a sense) the profundity of these symbols is very great, for while on the one hand they refer intimately to the realm of sensual experience (*saṃsāra*), they also indicate the two coefficients of mystical experience (*nirvāṇa*). In fact these symbols indicate the identity of the one with the other, in a way in which no other symbols can possibly do. *Vajra* and *lotus* derive their whole significance from their masculine and feminine connotations. The terms, Wisdom and Compassion (which, be it noted, is now equated with Passion), belong to the earlier phase of Buddhism, a fact which tends to obscure the new meanings with which they are endowed; the other terms employed, such as Sun and Moon, ĀLI (vowel series) and

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[1] See II. iv. 40–47.

[2] See Mus, ii. 1, pp. 663–4.

[3] See II. ii. 24–27.

KĀLI (consonant series) conceal the meaning like a code. These will be discussed below.

### The '*Thought of Enlightenment*'

The symbolism does not end with these pairs, in which one may conceive of either member as comprehending the other. There is a third member, the seed which results of their union, sometimes referred to in all clarity as *śukra*, but more generally as *bodhicitta*, the 'thought of enlightenment', or even as *citta*, 'thought'. It has a relative (*saṃvṛti*) and an absolute (*vivṛti*) aspect. As the former, it is the life-force, the essence of *saṃsāra*, and therefore manifest under the twofold aspect of the masculine and the feminine. Or it may represent (more logically) the masculine aspect only, when it is counterbalanced by *rakta*, 'blood', the feminine coefficient. (This fluctuation corresponds with the manner in which Hevajra alone or Hevajra embracing Nairātmyā may symbolize the whole *saṃsāra* and by implication *nirvāṇa*.) In its absolute aspect the *bodhicitta* is the supreme mystical experience and may be called by any of its attributes, the great bliss (*mahāsukha*), the self-experiencing (*svasaṃvedya*), the Innate (*sahaja*). All these distinctions are avowedly no distinctions, and perhaps this attempt to define these relative and absolute aspects of *bodhicitta*, for which there is authority in the text, illustrates how little the whole subject lends itself to logical discussion.[1] Every term deliberately has these emphases of meaning, everything overlaps as it were, just so that the distinctions may be blurred. Two other important synonyms of *bodhicitta* remain: it is the moon (*candra*, *śaśin*), regarded as absolute when it is the one only, or as relative, when it pairs with 'sun'; it is also *Akṣobhya*, for Akṣobhya is 'thought'[2] (*citta*) and thought, as was mentioned above, is essentially the 'thought of enlightenment' (*bodhicitta*). Lastly in terms of secret language (*sandhyābhāṣa*) *śukra* and *rakta* are known as *karpūra* (camphor) and *sihlaka* (frankincense).[3]

Thus although the two conceptions are essentially the same, one may regard the *bodhicitta* under two aspects: (1) as the consummation of vajra and lotus, when it is envisaged in the mystic state as the Moon which melts in the thousand-petalled lotus at the summit of the head, and flows through the whole body, pervading it with bliss,[1] or (2) as the seed, the source of existence (*saṃsāra*), and therefore the starting-point (*bindu*) of the *maṇḍala*, which is the idealized representation of *saṃsāra*. Now envisaged as seed, it is intimately associated with another conception, namely that of sound. We referred above to ĀLI (vowel series) and KĀLI (consonant series) as apparently arbitrary terms for the basic pair (lotus/vajra), but their usage is not without its significance. Just as these have the seed as their consummation, so the vowel and the consonant together produce the syllable, and this syllable indicates the mystic sound of the potential being comprehended in the seed (*bījasaṃgraha*).[2] These seed-syllables may, however, be a pure vowel, when they are essentially unmanifest, even as the primal sound A is the seed-syllable of Nairātmyā, whose name indicates her true nature. Of a divinity which becomes manifest the seed-syllable consists of initial consonant (or consonantal group), a vowel and final Ṃ (*anusvāra*). The *anusvāra* is itself, however, the symbol of the seed, the *bindu* (point of emergence or disappearance) and is indeed written as a dot over the syllable. Every complete seed-syllable is therefore in itself a representation of the essential idea of *vajra* (*kāli*), lotus (*āli*), and consummation (*bindu*), but at the same time it possesses an individual character in that it consists of a particular vowel and a particular consonant.[3] Thus the divinity, while being a particular manifestation, is essentially the same as any other manifestation, for they all sink into one. When Hevajra becomes manifest he springs from the seed-syllable HŪṂ; as unmanifest he would be represented by the sound HA, and as *bodhicitta* or 'moon' he is known in another context as HAṂ. It is as this that he is able to combine with Nairātmyā as AHAṂ—'I', which represents the reintegrated yogin. The identifications may be arbitrary and even contradictory, as one will see if one begins to apply the theory beyond the given examples of our *tantra*. They are essentially means, designed to train and concentrate the thought in one direction, and with this end in view one makes the requisite assertions, theorizes so far, and leaves it at that. The contradictions arise, however, not because the theory is necessarily defective, but because those who formulate it are fitting into a scheme material which already exists in a fixed or traditional form. *Ahaṃ* already means 'I' and it conveniently consists of two parts, and so is identified in accordance with the theory, regardless of other associations. A still more obvious discordance of this kind exists with regard to the next set which we have to consider. Just as vajra and lotus have *bodhicitta* as their consummation and consonants and vowels have the syllable (*akṣara*), so Moon (night) and Sun (day) are consumed in Fire. This like all the other elements has a general (macrocosmic) and individual (microcosmic) significance. As the former it is the cosmic fire which consumes existence and out of which the new existence arises. For this reason RAṂ which is the seed-syllable of fire is employed to initiate the whole envisaged process of emanation. For the meditating yogin it signifies the fusing in his own person of the two coefficients represented by the breath which passes up and down the left and right sides of the body, hence the consummation of his existence. As such it is Caṇḍālī, the goddess of fire, who burns at the navel.[1] Thus being the union of the two coefficients, she is essentially Wisdom (*prajñā*) and Means (*upāya*), and her name is arbitrarily explained in this way. *Caṇḍā* is *prajñā*, we are told, and *āli* is *upāya*, and this in spite of the general theory that *āli* is feminine and corresponds with *prajñā*. One has to accept such facile equations as merely emphasizing a particular meaning, and pass them by.

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[1] See I. viii. 28–29 and II. iv. 29–30.

[2] See diagram VII (p. 128) and diagrams on pages 27 and 28.

[3] See II. iii. 59. The list given by Shahidullah (p. 9) and quoted by Éliade (pp. 254–5) consists chiefly of terms not properly *sandhyābhāṣa*. Terms such as *lalanā*, *rasanā*, *padma*, *vajra*, &c. are by no means 'hidden'. They may well have more than one interpretation, but that is another matter. Of that Éliade has well written (pp. 253–4): 'On se trouve dans un univers d'analogies, d'homologies et de double sens. Tout phénomène érotique peut exprimer, dans ce langage "intentionnel", un exercice hathayogique ou une étape de la méditation de même que n'importe quel symbole, n'importe quel "état de sainteté" peuvent être affecté d'un sens érotique. On arrive à ce résultat, qu'un texte tantrique peut être lu avec plusieurs clés: liturgiques, yogiques, tantriques, etc.'

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[1] See pp. 36–37.

[2] See I. iii. 2 and 11.

[3] See II. v. 28 where the eight *yoginis* become manifest from their seed-syllables.

### *The Yogiṇ's Body*

The last set of three we have to consider are the three psychic channels which are envisaged as sustaining the yogin's body. They are suggested by the threefold scheme found in other spheres and the necessity of asserting a general concordance between macrocosm and microcosm which fundamental theory already regards as one, and by the existence of the two sides of the human body and the two nostrils where these veins are supposed to begin. We must return to them below, and here it is sufficient to state that to the left is *Lalanā*, feminine and corresponding with *prajñā*, to the right is *Rasanā*, masculine and corresponding with *upāya*, while in the centre where they unite is *Avadhūtī*, the channel through which the means of reintegration, envisaged either as *Caṇḍālī* (union of Sun and Moon, hence of breath to left and right) or as the *bodhicitta* (union of *rakta* and *śukra*, hence also of breath to left and right) reaches the Moon in the thousand-petalled lotus of the head.

It may be of help to resume these sets of three, referring them to their special spheres of application.

| | Doctrinal | Cosmical | Sexual | Biological | Vocal | Philosophical | Veins |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | *upāya* | moon | *vajra* | *śukra* | *kāli* | (*grāhaka*) | *Rasanā* |
| fem. | *prajñā* | sun | *lotus* | *rakta* | *āli* | (*grāhya*) | *Lalanā* |
| union | *bodhicitta* | fire | *śukra* | *bīja*<br>(*sattva*) | *akṣara* | *citta* | *Avadhūtī* |

As has been insisted upon above, this list does not indicate absolute distinctions, because several of the terms are interchangeable, such as *bodhicitta*, moon and *śukra*. *Prajñā* and *vajra* are both terms that may indicate the final truth, and in this sense cease to be mere coefficients. *Grāhaka* (subject) and *grāhya* (object) are included by implication, but are bracketed because to my knowledge they are not commonly used as synonyms for any other term in the same horizontal row. (See however I. i. 14.) *Sattva* is also bracketed because it occupies a special position. It is the *bīja* envisaged as 'being in its ideal form', namely Vajrasattva, 'adamantine being', who is identical with Hevajra or any other *iṣṭadevatā*.

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[1] See I. i. 31 and pp. 36–37. For *consume* and *consummate* as practical synonyms, see p. 138.

### *The 'Unity of Three'*

Such then is the complex mystery at the heart of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*. It is this that is referred to as the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Buddhas, as the Three Adamantine Ones (*trayo vajrinaḥ*), as the unity of three states of being (*tribhavasyaikatā*), and may be indicated by any agreed name.[1] It pervades all things for there is nothing other than it, and yet transcends all things for it is not involved in their accidental and purely unreal defilement. It can be experienced only by learning to associate oneself with its true nature, which is identical with one's own true nature, and so on. The identity of this with all other *ātman* theories, and particularly with later *Vedānta*, is apparent. But it represents too the essence of *Mādhyamika* theory, with which it maintains a far closer association by the using of their philosophical terms. For the commentators, as has already been indicated by the quotation from Kāṇha, there is no doubt that this is the true position.

Apart from the threefold formula of personality (Body, Speech, and Mind), and the three root-evils (Delusion, Desire, and Wrath) there are the three aspects of existence, absolute, contingent, imagined, and the theory of the three bodies of a buddha. Now these last suggest not a unity of three integrated principles, but a graduation of states of existence, which one may associate with the cosmological conception of the three worlds, *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, and *arūpadhātu*.[2] It is in fact as these three that Dharmakīrti (alone of the commentators) interprets this phrase 'unity of three states of being', and it is as a vertical series that the text envisages them, associating them also with certain places in the human body, an aspect of the matter to be considered more fully below, and added only now that this may serve as a future connecting link.[3]

| *Position in space* | *Formula of personality* | *Yoginī* | *Buddha* | *Root-evils* | *Position in body* | *Buddhakāya* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zenith | Speech | Khecarī | AMITĀBHA | *rāga* | throat | *saṃbhoga* |
| Centre | Mind | Nairātmyā | AKṢOBHYA | *dveṣa* | heart | *dharma* |
| Nadir | Body | Bhūcarī | VAIROCANA | *moha* | navel | *nirmāṇa* |

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[1] See I. x. 8–12.

[2] Attention has been drawn several times to the associations that exist between the different stages of spiritual advance (see also below, p. 35) and the external spheres of existence. See Przyluski, 'Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad' *BEFEO* xxxii, pp. 141 ff. Also Günther, *Seelenproblem*, pp. 135 ff. and diagram p. 157. Also Masuda, 'Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools', *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 43–44.

[3] See p. 38.

Now this diagram represents the vertical core of the *maṇḍala*, which must next be considered. It is clear that the stages are not ascending, for it is the centre that is in every case of prime importance. Mind (*citta*) corresponds with consciousness (*vijñāna*), considered as the chief of the five *skandhas*, the other four being envisaged horizontally at the four points of the compass (diagram IV p. 127). Its association with *bodhicitta*, which is the *bindu* (point), has already been mentioned above. Of Nairātmyā too, as the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), the final truth of the Void (*śūnyatā*), we have spoken. Akṣobhya is the hypostasis of Hevajra, who is frequently referred to in the text as the one whose nature is wrath (*dveṣātman*). The buddhas Amitābha and Vairocana with their corresponding passions all belong to the more usual fivefold scheme, when they are shown on the horizontal plane (diagrams V and VIII). We note that the *dharmakāya*, the chief member of this set of three, is where one would expect it in this scheme, at the centre, corresponding with the heart.

### *The Maṇḍala*

The whole horizontal *maṇḍala* is an idealized representation of the identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*. Hence on it there appear in stylized form the various aspects of absolute being under the names of different divinities and also certain set categories of phenomenal existence. It is the process of identification of the latter with the former which is referred to as the process of purification (*viśuddhi*). In the identification, for example, of wrath with Akṣobhya, the aspect of phenomenal existence is seen to be none other than an aspect of absolute existence. To symbolize and to purify (in this sense) is essentially the same thing. The simplest form of *maṇḍala* is that shown on diagram VIII, where the five Buddhas, who embody the five transcendent wisdoms,[1] are equated with the five evils that lie at the root of phenomenal existence. This simple scheme is of great interest in that it illustrates so well the fantastic conclusions that extreme monism of this kind must arrive at, when its sole measure of what is real (*tattva*) is the mystic state. One identifies in fact those states, human passions and feelings and so on, which are now no longer experienced directly, with the blissful state of unity which is being experienced, and then when one emerges from this state, one envisages those passions and so on, now actually experienced, as so many aspects of the one mystic unity. One thereby transforms idealistically the whole of phenomenal existence into a mystic absolute, and in this vision of reality all forms are recognized as symbolic reflections at various stages of remove from the unity of the centre. Meanwhile in his delusion the ordinary man persists in regarding them as separate entities.

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[1] See p. 129 and I. viii. 6–7, where the terms are translated. See also *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, ed. S. Lévi, ix. 67–76. For other references see *La Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang* (transl. by de la Vallée Poussin, Pàris 1928–9), p. 681. The full five are listed in *Mvp*, p. 8.

Nevertheless the power of this idea for one who seeks the mystic state as the one true goal remains unimpaired. The actual pattern of the *maṇḍala* employed and the sets of divinities are always a conventional expression of the idea and so varied from school to school. In conformity with the five-fold notion, men are envisaged as belonging by nature to one of five families, each represented by one of the Five Buddhas, and the *maṇḍala* suitable for such a man would have the Buddha of his family at the centre.[1] This would correspond with a predominance in the man's nature of delusion, wrath, passion, envy, or malignity. This seems in the main a mere theoretical elaboration of the master's responsibility to find the right means for his pupil. I would have no doubt that behind the traditional formulas there lay much sound practical psychology. The great masters often had many *tantras* at their disposal, and 'it was the rule for them to teach those they were training in accordance with their propensities'.[2] Hence there arises the need to find the right master, and his great importance when once he has been found, for only he can indicate the way. All this is quite reasonable within its setting, and serves once more to emphasize the seriousness of the intention, were one still inclined to doubt it. The Indian's delight in the elaboration of schemes can often give an appearance of artificiality and improbability to an idea that is in itself quite genuine. Such is the case with these five families, which are listed with all their associations in diagram V. The *Hevajra-tantra* belongs to the Vajra-family, of which Akṣobhya or one of his wrathful manifestations, Hevajra, Heruka, or Śaṃvara is the head. Wrath is therefore at the centre and the aspect of the divinities is wrathful. At the same time this work is called a *Yoginī-tantra*,[3] in that its circles are peopled entirely with feminine divinities, even at the centre, where instead of Hevajra we sometimes find his consort, Nairātmyā, alone, albeit in a wrathful manifestation, for he and she are essentially one as was shown above. One would suspect a superimposition of one distinct cycle upon another, for whereas Hevajra appears with a troupe of eight goddesses (diagram II), Nairātmyā appears with a troupe of fourteen (diagram III). This distinction is maintained in the few relevant *sādhanas* to be found in the *Sādhanamālā* (nos. 228, 229, 230, 231, and 247). The redactor of our *tantra* is also aware of the distinction, for he makes Nairātmyā say: 'You have spoken of our circle with its troupe of fifteen. But what is your own *maṇḍala* like, O Lord? Of this I have so far known nothing?' One may observe that this last comment is untrue for the work as it now exists, for Hevajra's cycle has already been given in Chapter 3 of Part I, where he appears in a two-armed form with his troupe of eight. Here in Chapter 5 of Part II the number of attendants is not increased, but he appears in full manifestation with sixteen arms and also embracing Nairātmyā. That, however, the two cycles were in fact completely combined is shown by the *thanka* reproduced as our frontispiece, where he appears in the full company of sixteen. But Nairātmyā's company is probably equally composite in nature, although in the text it already appears fully conventionalized. The eight *yoginīs* of the outer circle belong specifically to Hevajra, and it is possible that her company consists of an original five as in diagram VIII. That two such sets of five and eight were employed separately in actual ritual is indicated in the text itself, I. x. 5, where five is the given number, and II. v. 58, where eight is the number required. (The separate nature of the remaining two, Khecarī and Bhūcarī, has been shown above on p. 28.) The names appertaining to the two sets are also distinct: the inner five are goddesses proper, while the outer eight are the names of women of low caste or of eight feminine relatives. Nor would Gaurī have been duplicated if the set had been originally composite.

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[1] Concerning these families see *Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 64–67, 74–75.

[2] Tāranātha, *tib. text*, p. 147, ll. 14–15.

[3] See Glossary, pp. 132 & 138.

The essential feature of a *maṇḍala* is its regularity towards the various directions, for the first thing it must express is emanation from a centre into space. As the divinities in whose forms the process of emanation (*utpattikrama*) is expressed, have the value of pure symbol, their forms and their number are relevant only to the categories in terms of which the meditator conceives of his own personality, for it is these two things, the divine forms (*nirvāṇa*) and the components of his own self (*saṃsāra*), which are to be identified. The simplest set is the set already referred to, in which the five *skandhas* are symbolized and purified. Or the number may be increased to nine, when the five *skandhas* and four elements are symbolized. The normal representation of these comprises the Five Buddhas and the four goddesses, Locanā (earth), Māmakī (water), Paṇḍarā (fire), and Tārā (air), as shown in the diagram on page 50. The fifth element, space, coalesces with consciousness (*vijñāna*) at the centre.

The set of fifteen permits the inclusion of the six spheres of sense as is seen in diagram IV. Vajragarbha is also concerned to include the six faculties of sense (II. iii. 50), but this can logically be done only by increasing the size of the troupe. The names he is given in reply, however, suggest merely a duplicating of places, for the number fifteen in this *tantra* is inviolate. It is envisaged as corresponding with the fifteen vowels and the fifteen phases of the moon, and Hevajra as *bodhicitta* with the moon itself.[1]

So the whole maṇḍala like the symbol of the *vajra* or of any divine form is still but an expression of the one same idea, more complex in manifestation but in essence identical. 'The *maṇḍala* is the full and efficacious expression of the great bliss, for nowhere else does this have its origin.'[2]

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[1] See II. iv. 26 and p. 25.

[2] See II. ii. 21.

## *The Practice of Concentration*

The purpose of all these imagined forms, seed-syllables, symbols, divinities, and mystic circles, should by now be clear. They represent in every case the essential identity of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, with which it is the aim of the meditator to identify himself. At one time he may select as means the form of his chosen divinity (*iṣṭadevatā*) and concentrate upon it one-pointedly. 'O Wise One, you should conceive of existence in knowledge of its non-existence, and likewise you should conceive of Heruka in knowledge of his non-existence.'[1] And again: 'The *saṃsāra* is Heruka's phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world.'[2] At set times one should therefore practise concentrated meditation (*samāhitayoga*) upon him, and at all other times in whatever activities one may be engaged, one should seek to be mindful of union with him (*nirantarayoga*).[3] The whole process of concentrated meditation is fully described in Part I, Chapter 3. After the preliminaries, the purification of the site and of one's own person, the evocation is begun. This may proceed in various ways in accordance with the meanings of the symbols suggested above. One may first envisage the syllable RAṂ which is the primeval fire. In this one envisages a crossed-vajra, symbol of the absolute centre, and then at the heart of this the syllable HŪṂ which is the essence of Heruka or Hevajra. One may complicate the process by envisaging this vajra, the adamantine essence, as first transforming itself into a protected palace, at the centre of which Hevajra is enthroned.[4] Or one may commence the whole process with the lotus in the stylized form of the triangle of origination (see I. viii. 3). From this the elements in due order are envisaged as arising, each represented by their particular syllable, YAṂ RAṂ VAṂ LAṂ. Or one may envisage Sun and Moon and then the seed (*bīja*) which is their union. They are all merely expedients for concentrating the mind along a due succession of events which represents the emanation of existence (*utpattikrama*) and therefore they may be combined in any logical order, for it is the effect produced that is alone important. One may envisage the final stage of emanation as the *maṇḍala* of sixteen divinities, or one may envisage it as countless forms of Hevajra filling space in a regularized order in every direction. Then one must realize the identity of oneself with the whole process by associating one's personality with the emanation, which is achieved by a strenuous act of belief: *OṂ HERUKA-svabhāvātmako 'HAṂ*—'I am of the essence of Heruka'. The imagined forms are conceived as sinking into one's own heart, and from here the process may be repeated, so that one becomes oneself the twofold process of emanation and absorption, of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. This is the unity of Wisdom and Means which remains unharmed by this twofold process of origination and dissolution, for Means is the origination and Wisdom the dissolution.[1]

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[1] See I. i. 11. [2] See II. ix. 10. [3] See p. 89 fn.

[4] See Tucci, *Teoria e Pratica del Maṇḍala*, p. 31: 'Questa (la montagna Sumeru, *l'axis mundi*) è una concezione panasiatica cui hanno contribuito a dare chiarezza e precisione le idee cosmografiche espresse nello *zikurrat* assiro-babilonese, poi riflesse nello schema della città imperiale dei re iranici e quindi nell' immagine ideale della reggia del cakravartin, il monarca universale delle tradizioni indiane.' See also J. Przyluski: 'La Ville du Cakravartin', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, v, pp. 165 ff. The *maṇḍala*, the primary function of which is to express the truth of emanation and return (*saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*), is the centre of the universe. Hence it involves all previous tradition associated with this idea. Its core is Mt. Meru; it is the palace of the universal monarch, it is the royal *stūpa*; it is even the fire-altar where one makes the sacrifice of oneself. This last idea finds expression in the figurative interpretation given to the rite of slaying (*māraṇa*). It seems that all these notions were perhaps involved in the Buddhist *stūpa* itself (see Mus, *Borobuḍur*, i, pp. 233–53); it is as a *stūpa* that the *maṇḍala* is primarily envisaged (see I. x. c. and II. v. c.).

One need not doubt the effectiveness of such concentration, if practised regularly over a period of time. 'Try it', says our text persuasively, 'try it one fortnight with zeal, making final realization your goal, abandoning all discursive thought, your mind set on the form of the divinity.'[2]

### *The Ritual of Union*

It is only after such practice and more of which our text tells nothing, that the pupil comes before his master with his *yoginī*.[3] Of the actuality of this following ritual the text amply testifies. It is, however, one of several means, and whether it was employed or not, depended upon the predisposition of the pupil. If one is to judge it rightly, one must see it as part of the whole context. The realization in oneself of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is the serious and avowed intention. One may regard this as no true end for the best of human endeavour and as founded upon an incomplete conception of the nature of existence, but one must still in all fairness view its practices in the light of its intention, and not censure these as though they were wanton acts of foolishness. After such preliminary training as they both received, it is to be expected that the *yogin* and the *yoginī* should experience their union as the union of Wisdom and Means in the avowed sense. The retention of the *bodhicitta* may well have produced from natural causes an intensified sensation of potential bliss, which under the influence of all preceding mental training and the impressiveness of the actual ceremony would be experienced as something more than natural, as the Bliss Innate that transcended any local manifestation. Nor would this interpretation conflict with the views of those practisers themselves, for whom the whole process is a mental production (*bhāvanā*) and for whom every form and ritual is a mere support.

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[1] See II. ii. 27.

[2] II. ii. 8–9.

[3] Of the actual method of controlling the physical functions the text tells nothing directly. They are, however, clearly implied in the more general statements (II. iv. e). The Taoists, treating of similar practices, are certainly more explicit. See the article by Henri Maspero, *Les Procédés de 'Nourrir le principe vital'*, *JA* 229 (1937), pp. 177–252 and 353–430. The various processes are here described explicitly, whereas in the Indian texts one is presented primarily with schemes and patterns. Nor is any distinction made between an imagined and an actual physical process, because no such distinction is recognized. One surmises that the real process was elaborated to conform with a theoretical scheme, just as the master's responsibility towards his pupil is elaborated into the theory of the five families (see above, p. 30). This has the effect of concealing what is actually involved, and I doubt whether this particular problem is soluble. To ask what may appear to us an all-important question: 'Are the *cakras* within the body conceived of as real psychic centres, or are they an imagined device like the external *maṇḍala*?' is to bring contradiction into the whole basic theory from the standpoint of the texts. For them the whole process, internal and external, is *bhāvanā* (mental production), and the *maṇḍala*, although imagined (*bhāvita*) exists on a higher plane of reality than the phenomenal world it represents. Likewise the idealized representation of the body, consisting of the veins and *cakras*, exists on a higher plane than the normal physical structure of the body. Then, finally, these higher stages themselves are dissolved. The same applies to the divine forms. They are not pure symbol as we might interpret them. We regard them as unreal in the beginning. The Buddhists, however, regard them as real in the beginning, more real than flesh and blood. Hence arises the need of insisting that the divine form too consists of just something that comes into existence (II. ii. 45). In fact the very power of these gods as means of purification (*viśuddhi*) resides in the initial belief that they instilled. They are the essence of *saṃsāra*, and one must learn to conceive of them in terms of their non-existence. To call such use symbolic is not adequate, for as pure symbol they would be powerless. Nor is any real distinction to be made between an esoteric and exoteric interpretation, between the few who know all these things are symbols, and the many who place faithful trust in them. They all, *siddhas* and *pṛthagjanas* alike, believe in these gods. The *siddhas* have, however, trained themselves to regard them as though they were non-existent. It clearly only becomes possible to understand these texts thoroughly by accepting their

This particular rite is envisaged as proceeding by four stages, which are marked by four consecrations given by the master, and are experienced as four successive 'joys', known at four successive 'moments'.

| Consecrations | Joys | Moments |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *ācārya* | *ānanda* | *vicitra* |
| 2. *guhya* | *paramānanda* | *vipāka* |
| 3. *prajñājñāna* | *viramānanda* | *vimarda* |
| 4. *caturtha* | *sahajānanda* | *vilakṣaṇa* |

[For the translation and discussion of these terms see *abhiṣeka*, *ānanda* and *kṣaṇa* in the Glossary (pp. 131–3, 134, 136); also the text pp. 94–96.]

*Weltanschauung* complete, and this is probably an impossibility for a modern European. To think one has done so is not sufficient. One is then placed in the predicament of explaining away much that is unacceptable, and one manner of doing this is an appeal to symbolism and esoteric interpretation; but these are notions that have no meaning in a genuine tradition. A distinction is made, it is true, between an inner (*adhyātmika*) and outer (*bāhya*) interpretation with regard to the actual rites, but they remain rites none the less, and the distinction arises from no embarrassment with regard to them, or desire to explain them away. On the contrary the outer sense is usually commended as necessary to lead men to the inner, which is precisely their use. The position is completely reversed by certain European and modern Indian exponents of these doctrines, who commend them to us for their esoteric significance, as though one could dispense with all else. Such an interpretation is historically inaccurate. Those Buddhists believed, and it was necessary for their whole scheme of 'release' that they should believe, in those gods and magical practices for their own sakes, before they began to use them as means. There was no short-cutting of this way, or the means would have been completely ineffective; nor indeed were they inclined to believe otherwise. The task now of trying to understand becomes very much more difficult, and can only be attempted when one has amassed sufficient knowledge of the historical and religious setting of the times to permit one to see certain practices in a sufficient context. Such a view can scarcely be perfect, but it is the only possible approximation, and that one can draw very close, is shown by the work of Paul Mus.

Their mere enumeration is sufficient to suggest an analogy with other fourfold schemes by which the stages of spiritual ascent were indicated. There were four stages towards arhatship (*srota-āpanna*, *sakṛdāgamin*, *anāgamin*, *arhattva-pratipanna*), four stages of *dhyāna*, and still more obviously the four stages, analogous with sleep, *jāgrat*, *svapna*, *suṣupti*, *turīya*, where the last stage is likewise known as the 'fourth'. It is therefore in accordance with precedent that our stages are now fixed as four. Nevertheless there is some disagreement with regard to the ordering of the four Joys and the four Moments. Whenever it lists them, the *Hevajra-tantra* gives them in what would appear to be the normal order, yet it twice defines the Joy Innate as preceding the Joy of Cessation (I. x. 18 and II. ii. 40) in contradiction even with a definition elsewhere (I. viii. 24) where it is regularly called the End of Cessation. That two traditions existed with regard to the ordering of these Joys is confirmed by Dharmakīrti. 'Some people say', he says, 'that Cessation is last and the Innate is third' (xvii. 418*b* 4). Maitṛpa clearly supported this view.[1] That both traditions should appear in the *Hevajra-tantra* may be a sign of mixed origins.

The transcendental nature of this Joy Innate is emphasized as far as words permit. The other three joys are of this world, but the Innate exists not in these three.[2] It is not passion (*rāga* = *paramānanda*) nor the absence of passion (*arāga* = *viramānanda*), nor yet a middle state (*ānanda*).[3] It is both void (*śūnya*) and non-void (*aśūnya*) which is the nature of Heruka.[4] One suspects that the placing of the Joy Innate as third is, however, in direct analogy with the ritualistic embrace and actual experience. As third, it is followed by the Joy called Cessation, which is a return to normal experience. The corresponding moments are that which has no characteristics (*vilakṣaṇa*) and that which consists of the 'reflection' (*vimarda*): 'I have enjoyed this bliss.' This is Maitṛpa's contention in supporting this order. 'If *vimarda* is such reflection, how can it be understood as third?' Such discussion serves to indicate the very transitory nature of the experience and the very delicate distinction that must always have existed between the two orders of enjoyment. It was indeed a razor's edge.

### *The Union within the Yogin's Body*

But all this may at another stage merely figure an internal process of reintegration. This was assisted by imagining some of the schemes which have been resumed above, as existing actually within the body. To the left and right are the two 'veins' *Lalanā* and *Rasanā*, corresponding with Wisdom and Means in their separate condition, which is the state of *saṃsāra*. Up and down these channels passes the breath, conceived of as vital force and having the nature of *rakta* to the left and *śukra* to the right. So long as breath continues in this manner, so thought continues to wander uncontrolled. The initial part of the process consists therefore in harnessing thought to the breath, achieved by concentrating the thought upon the breathing process. One manner of doing this is to imagine the vowel series (ĀLI) as passing in and out with the breathing to the left and the consonant series (KĀLI) passing in and out to the right. By concentrating upon this both breath and thought become controlled. Running up the centre of the body a third vein is imagined. This is known as *Avadhūtī* and represents the union of Wisdom and Means. Meeting it at cross section, at the navel, the heart, the throat, and the head, there are imagined four lotuses of varying numbers of petals, representing minor veins. These four lotuses or radiating circles (*cakras*) correspond with the four stages of spiritual advance, viz. the four Joys which we have discussed above. As is usual there is some contradiction in the actual arrangement, for the first Joy may be envisaged at the navel and the Joy Innate in the head, or vice versa. There seems to be some reason for both these schemes as we shall see below.

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[1] *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 28, 2–6.

[2] I. x. 15.

[3] I. x. 17.

[4] II. v. 70.

At the base of the genitals where all three channels come together, *Lalanā* descending from the left, *Rasanā* descending from the right and *Avadhūtī* ascending at the centre, there resides the *bodhicitta* in its relative condition (= *śukra*) and quiescent. At the summit of the head (*brahmarandhra*) there resides the *bodhicitta* in its absolute condition (= *mahāsukha*) also quiescent and known as Moon.

Such in the simplest terms is the imagined structure of the body. Now the breath to which thought is harnessed is first made to pass regularly up and down the two outer channels, which thereby enact under strict control the process of *saṃsāra*. The breath becomes quiescent and the two psychic streams thus controlled are held and forced, as other escape is denied them, to enter the base of the central channel. At their meeting they arouse the *bodhicitta* which resides there. Their contact, which is the contact of Wisdom and Means, of Sun and Moon, is envisaged as Fire which is Caṇḍālī, and so Caṇḍālī burns.[1] As seed-syllable she is the syllable A, and as a blazing A it may be imagined. She is therefore also Nairātmyā and may be known under any name that signifies the bliss of this union, as Avadhūtī, the name of the central vein itself, or as Ḍombī. She is now envisaged as moving upwards, consuming as she goes, from the navel to the heart and thence to the throat and the head. Then she reaches the *bodhicitta* in the head, the Moon, here envisaged as the syllable HAṂ. This melts at the contact and flows downwards through the central vein, pervading the whole body through the various *cakras* as it goes. It reaches the lowest *cakra* and A and HAṂ become AHAṂ (= 'I', the reintegrated self) in the Joy Innate.

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[1] *Caṇḍālī* is *gTum-mo* in Tibetan, a name well known from accounts of the warmth-producing exploits of the Tibetan 'cotton-clad ones' (*ras-pa*). This Tibetan practice seems to be a turning to practical purposes of yoga which was intended primarily as a means to the supreme goal. See Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, pp. 171–210, where the actual producing of bodily warmth is seen to be entirely incidental to the main intention.

This is the process portrayed in the texts, the final consummation, towards which the practice with *maṇḍalas* and *mudrās* and *dhyāna* and *japa* lends its aid, and in the realization of which they are all transcended. This is the process of which the *dohā*-verses sing:

> When the mind goes to rest,
> The bonds of the body are destroyed,
> And when the one flavour of the Innate pours forth,
> There is neither outcast nor brahmin.
>
> Here is the sacred Jumna and here the River Ganges,
> Here are Prayaga and Benares, here are Sun and Moon.
> Here I have visited in my wanderings shrines and such places of pilgrimage,
> For I have not seen another shrine blissful like my own body.[1]

The absence of any rationality is sufficient in itself to account for inevitable contradictions and duplications, of precisely the kind which we have referred to above. Thus the sound A at the navel is both the *bodhicitta* (masculine in association) and Nairātmyā (feminine in association) who unites with the *bodhicitta* in the head. *Bodhicitta* is in one sense itself *śukra* and yet it results from a union of Wisdom and Means, which themselves may be called *rakta* and *śukra*. The reason for all these cross-identifications we have given above. Also the twofold movement upward and downward in the process of reintegration may well account for the Joy Innate being conceived in the head and in the navel. It is with fundamental variations of this kind in mind that one hesitates to commit oneself to any one particular scheme, as they clearly varied from one school or one master to another, much as the external *maṇḍala* might be varied. Nevertheless they always represent the same intention, namely to emphasize the identity of microcosm with macrocosm by locating the various orders of existence within the body at the level of the various *cakras*. The *Hevajra-tantra* itself is consistent in its allusions (I. i. c and II. iv. h) to this theory. The basis is provided by the three bodies (*kāya*) of a buddha, increased by addition of the fourth, known as the 'Self-Existent Body' (*svabhāvikakāya*), the 'Innate Body' (*sahajakāya*) or the 'Body of Great Bliss' (*mahāsukhakāya*). The three first are located in accordance with the diagram on page 28 above.

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[1] Quoted from Saraha's *Dohakośa*. See *Buddhist Texts* (Cassirer, 1954), pp. 230–1.

So when they are extended to this fourfold scheme, in which the place of importance is at the top, namely in the head, these three bodies of the buddha appear out of their traditional order.[1]

| | *Body* | *Joy* | *Syllable* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Head | svabhāvikakāya | sahajānanda | HAṂ |
| Throat | saṃbhogakāya | viramānanda | OṂ |
| Heart | dharmakāya | paramānanda | HŪṂ |
| Navel | nirmāṇakāya | ānanda | A |

Within this fourfold scheme are fitted all possible terms of reference, and primarily the 4 Joys, the 4 Moments, and the 4 Consecrations (see p. 34). Also we may insert the four truths, *duḥkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha*, and *mārga*, as indicating that the whole doctrine is comprehended within the body. Or likewise the four schools, *Sthāvara*, *Sarvāstivāda*, *Sammitīya*, and *Mahāsaṅghika*, as symbolizing the presence of the whole *saṅgha* within the body, or likewise the four elements, earth, water, fire, air, or the four rites of prospering (*puṣṭi*), pacifying (*śānti*), overpowering (*vaśya*), and destroying (*māraṇa*), as symbolizing the existence of all power within the body. This last set lends itself badly to such allocation, as there are far more than four such rites. In this context the only one of importance amongst them is the rite of slaying (*māraṇa*) which with the interpretation of the 'slaying of the notion of a self' is equated with the Joy Innate and is used as a synonym for it. Nor is it practicable to insert the Five Buddhas in a vertical order because of their number.[2] They may, however, be envisaged as there at

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[1] See Dasgupta, *Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism*, p. 163. There is no doubt that this is the traditional arrangement. For its application to Tibetan ritual, see *Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 233–4. Nevertheless Vajragarbha reverses the positions of the four bodies and the four joys (folio 18*b*):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Head | *nirmāṇakāya* | *ānanda* |
| Throat | *saṃbhogakāya* | *paramānanda* |
| Heart | *dharmakāya* | *viramānanda* |
| Navel | *sahajakāya* | *sahajānanda* |

The *dharmakāya* is still positioned at the heart, but the four bodies now appear more typically as a graduation of states of existence.

[2] This is, however, attempted, although the allocations vary. Thus V (26*a* 7–*b* 1):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Head | BUṂ | Vairocana |
| Throat | JRĪṂ | Amitābha |
| Heart | HŪṂ | Akṣobhya |
| Navel | AṂ | Ratneśa |
| Genitals | KHAṂ | Amoghasiddhi |

Elsewhere V (138*b* 4–5) and D (371*a* 2–3) locate the full set of six Buddhas within:

| | V | D |
|---|---|---|
| Top of head | Akṣobhya | White (= Vairocana) |
| Forehead | Vairocana | Yellow (= Ratneśa) |
| Throat | Amitābha | Red (= Amitābha) |
| Heart | Amoghasiddhi | Black (= Akṣobhya) |
| Navel | Ratnasaṃbhava | Green (= Amoghasiddhi) |
| Genitals | Vajrasattva | Blue (= Vajrasattva) |

This is achieved by making temporary use of the full set of six *cakras*, as employed in the non-Buddhist *tantras* (see Woodroffe, *The Serpent Power*, 4th ed., Madras, 1950, the heart-*cakra*, of which Hevajra (= Akṣobhya) holds the centre in the form of the syllable HŪṂ with the other four in their normal positions on the horizontal plane. The whole scheme is flexible and allows of elaboration and variation within different traditions. Moreover the different *cakras* are envisaged as no more or less real than the circles of the external *maṇḍala*. In the condition of the Joy Innate their distinctions, which were mere means, are all absorbed. It is in this sense that of the pair Wisdom/Means Wisdom remains supreme, for although without Means she is unrealizable, it is she that absorbs her partner, and never the reverse. She is the eternally quiescent one, and it is from her that he emerges, and then from their union springs all manifested form, envisaged as the circle of divinities. It is he who weaves the web of *māyā* and by means of him, who is the Means, that one returns to her. So the *yogin* must himself become Hevajra for Hevajra is the Means.

## IV. OBSERVATIONS

Such then is the serious intention of this *tantra*, with which we can find no fault that might not also be found in earlier stages of Buddhism. There is no Buddhism known that does not set chief store by meditation, and this is but a special means of meditation. It uses mystic syllables, but these were in use long before Saroruha produced this text. It uses mystic circles and divine forms as aids to concentration, but forms of the buddhas worked in stone had now been long in use, and it is in terms of the traditional *stūpa* that the *maṇḍala* is conceived in the *Hevajra-tantra*. It consists of an inner circle, surrounded by four walls with four entrances and four portals (*toraṇa*). It has eight columns (two at each entrance), and is decorated with chains and garlands. As for the actual *yoga*-practice, there was nothing new in the breath-control which still plays the predominant role in a developed technique. Nor is this developed technique, it seems, anything new in principle, for at most it involved increased control of the physical processes of the body, which in some measure had always been recognized as necessary. If control of the breath was already recognized as a means towards the achieving of a desired mental condition, then to control also the seminal fluid and thereby gain even better results, is but an advance along the same path. The deliberate eating and drinking of things abhorrent differs nothing in kind from the deliberate meditation upon unpleasant things, such as the gross nature of the human body or the manner of disintegration of a corpse, practices which had previously been found helpful in overcoming natural

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pp. 115–27). There is clearly great variety in these lists, and contradictions can easily be shown even within a single tradition, if one checks the lists for cross-references. They seem to have no significance, apart from purely local modes of meditation, and more often they seem to merely represent ill-conceived attempts at needless systematization.

aversion and instilling the virtue of indifference (*upekṣā*). One conceives too easily perhaps of Buddhism in terms of the abstract theories of a few famous philosophers, and so when in the *tantras* one is brought face to face with actual practices, the like of which had long been practised, one may exclaim too readily that these cannot be Buddhist.[1] That new elements are introduced, the effect of which is far-reaching, there is no denying, but there is no essential break in the development of the doctrine. One might even claim that these new elements far from issuing in a degeneration, brought about a rejuvenation, nourished in the hidden well-springs of Indian religious life. For it is not the philosopher who gives life to a religion, but the man who succeeds in practising it, and in India the practiser *par excellence* has always been the *yogin*. One may well, by present standards, dislike the actual practices of certain yogins, and may thus far refer to them as a degeneration, but this term is relevant only to our judgement, and its use does not mean that Buddhism necessarily suffered from contact with them. This seems to be but a European fable, given substance only by the cataclasmic disappearance of the doctrine from India at the time when the *tantras* were in vogue. To Islām Śākyamuni was as much a demon as Hevajra. The later Buddhists themselves conceived of their type of Buddhism as the best and most effective, and since they are not profligates who commend it for the licence it permits them, but serious practisers and scholars, their words are not without importance when we attempt to appreciate this phase of the doctrine. To any who conceive of Buddhism as just philosophy, this preoccupation with ritual and techniques of yoga may well appear a riot of degeneration, but to a Buddhist who conceived of his religion primarily as an art of yoga and who had never neglected the use of ritual, it might very reasonably have appeared as the most effective teaching ever sponsored under the name of Buddha. 'Because it is free from doubt as to the oneness of its purpose, because of its absence of difficulty, because of its many methods, and because it is adapted to keen senses, this *mantra*-teaching is the best.'[2]

When we examine too what new things this period introduced into the Buddhist stream, we find they are a cause of strength rather than of weakness. The new notion that was perhaps most radical in its effect is that of buddhahood to be achieved in one lifetime. This hope of rapid success brings an actuality into the religious biographies of this period, however fantastic they still remain in many details, and the religious ideal of the *mahāsiddha* coincides with the historical examples. Whereas who can point to the *bodhisattva*, the great being, who pursues his career through aeons of time? He remains primarily a great ideal, a subject rather for theoretical elaboration than for actual practice. The stories that tell of his virtues are fantastic in their whole purport and the very stages of his advance are acknowledged as unreal in their true nature. Now it is at least understandable for a man to train himself to regard all phenomenal things as essentially unreal, if he can hope to experience the final bliss associated with that experience in or at the end of his present life. There is some motive for self-sacrifice and arduous self-training if the goal is within his grasp. But what incentive is there to pursue an ideal realizable after aeons of time, when every stage of progress is unreal and imagined? In actual fact the ideal remained far more modest, as represented perhaps by such men of learning and sanctity as Hsüan-Tsang met in his travels, or by yogins and ascetics possessed of special powers, in the existence of which the followers of the Buddha had always believed. The *tantras* seem then to mark a new recognition of the actuality of the religious life as conceived in those days. They descend from superb flights of fancy to a realizable ideal; one may dislike this ideal and its means of realization, but it was at least practicable and apparently successful. For there seems no reason to doubt the efficacy of the psychological training and the theory of evocation on which it is chiefly based. This was a matter of self-knowledge in the full sense of the term, for it was necessary to exteriorize all hidden innate tendencies that they might be known and transmuted. The *maṇḍala* served but as a support for this process, and the intricate forms it often assumed indicate the complexity of the task. That the divinities should be manifest in fierce forms, a stumbling-block to some Europeans who take interest in Indian art, would also be in accordance with the theory, for the hidden tendencies are fierce and destructive in their nature. Neither India nor Tibet has become impervious to the notion of 'religious dread' (*mysterium tremendum*), and this has found expression in fierce divine forms.[1] By the simple worshipper these are placated in the world without, but by the meditator they are transmuted in the world within. The realization of the essential identity of man with the universal being was one of the first fruits of Indian reflective thought, and it remains fundamental to all practice of yoga and to most philosophical exposition. To reintegrate the one was therefore automatically to reintegrate the other, and thus to save oneself might be identified with saving all beings. 'There are no other means in the *saṃsāra* for achieving the weal of yourself and others.'[2] The fierce tendencies must be evoked and transformed, for it is they that produce the appearance of misery (*duḥkha*). In this whole process of self-help nothing

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[1] Mus, p. 594: 'L'élément culturel, capital pour l'étude du bouddhisme indien en sa riche substance, est trop souvent sacrifié à l'étude des dissentiments d'école, plus commodes d'accès que les faits rituel.'

[2] Quoted by Maitṛpa (*Advayavajraṣaṃgraha*, p. 21) and Bu-sTon (Obermiller, p. 40).

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[1] Concerning the notion of *mysterium tremendum* see Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* translated by J. W. Harvey, Oxford, 1928. See, e.g., pp. 25–30, 129–33.

[2] II. ii. 10.

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डा. डि लो रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय

final is to be gained by calling upon imagined beings who express benignity, gentleness, and compassion. This may well be done by simple folk who conceive of these imagined beings as other than themselves, and the meditator may well himself make use of such devotional practices as a psychological preparation, but they are essentially useless in the final stages, where it is the fierce aspect of the self that must be transmuted. If they are found ever to be morbid and pathological, it suggests that precisely these tendencies were to be overcome. One might well generalize and contend that it is the function of all religious practice to restore to its rightful condition that which is conceived as defective. Such is certainly the avowed intention of the practices which we have been discussing, and it was in their very power of giving expression to those things that we naturally find unpleasant that their effectiveness consisted. To dislike the *tantras*, is but to dislike the worst tendencies in man, and of the terrible existence of these tendencies we have ample experience in every generation. The *tantras* claimed to remove like by like, and so of what else should they tell? With all their excesses and defects of presentation they may well contain much that is relevant to modern thought, for they present a genuine stratum of human experience. The texts themselves of course are merely suggestive and complete evaluation is only possible in a living tradition. There is nothing superstitious in the idea of a necessary succession from master to pupil, nor in the idea of the essential secret being lost, if no succession took place. Other techniques lost in such a way are by no means unknown in the history of man.

In this whole setting the rite of *maithuna* ceases to be a matter of concern, and it would be absurd to defend it by pretending that the intention was solely symbolical. Whether performed or not, it is the idea that counts, and this idea is certainly central in the whole conception of this new reintegration.[1] And necessarily so, for it represents a most powerful tendency innate in all living things. It is therefore the chief thing to be symbolized, and to symbolize, one must remember, is to transmute. This is therefore no degrading of religion, but just the reverse, an ennobling of the natural condition, or rather a realization of the essential purity (*viśuddhi*) of the natural condition. It is *saṃsāra* that is to be realized as *nirvāṇa*. We have referred above to the dangerous nature of this whole theory of identification, and drawn attention to the false assumption that seems to underlie it, but in this instance the followers of the *tantras* seem to be specially secure from criticism, for this bond was a sanction of the highest order which Indian religion recognized, namely the obtaining of supreme enlightenment (*samyaksaṃbodhi*). If misused it became automatically, as should any intended sacrament, the means of certain misery (*duḥkha*), which for them is *saṃsāra*, unrecognized for what it really is, involving wretched conditions in future lives. Those who behaved thus were the fools, to whom reference is made, for the followers of the *tantras* were themselves well aware of these dangers. It is only unfortunate that at times the canonical texts themselves seem to succumb to the danger.[1] The wording often seems so precise that it can be only the obviously literal interpretation that was intended. Vajragarbha even says that this was so.[2] In those circles where the *Hevajratantra* had its origin, there can be little doubt that it was believed that the body would be nourished and so become endowed with special powers, if certain sacraments (*samaya*), consisting of various kinds of human flesh or more repulsive articles, were consumed.[3] To consume these in the accepted Buddhist sense, means to consume the Five Buddhas and thus to purify (*viśudh*) the Five Evils. If in the beginning this had been the intended sense, it would have seemed unnecessary to enumerate the articles with such precision. Yet in the main a clear Buddhist connotation is implied. The whole text seems to require different stages of interpretation, if one is in every case to understand it as the actual authors intended it. But it has seemed to me enough to attempt to understand it in its acceptable Buddhist sense, as interpreted in fact by its commentators.

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[1] The whole conception of two-in-one is fundamental to Tantric Buddhism, viz. that Buddhism which seeks its authority in the *tantras*, conceived as Buddha-word. But sexual symbolism was not necessarily involved and seems to have been a secondary development. See in this respect an excellent article by Glasenapp, 'Tantrismus und Śaktismus', *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1936, pp. 120–33. The term *Śaktismus* itself is, however, not properly applicable to Buddhist developments (see below, p. 44) as Glasenapp is aware, but he omits to draw the full conclusions. 'Die Vereinigung des Buddha mit seiner Śakti im Körper der großen Lust (*mahāsukha-kāya*) ist das Symbol des Verschmelzens des Bewußtseins (*vijñāna*) in der Leere (*śūnyatā*), die selige Aufhebung aller Zweiheit. Wenn sich der *Upāya* (d. h. die Methode der aktiven Heilspropaganda) und die *Prajñā* (die Erkenntnis) miteinander vereinen, dann ist damit der höchste geistige Schöpfungsakt zur Tatsache geworden. Die *Śakti* ist hier also dem männlichen Prinzip im günstigen Falle nur koordiniert, meistens aber ist sie ihm untergeordnet, wie ja auch bei den tibetischen Yab-Yum-Darstellungen die Śakti meist kleiner erscheint als ihr männlicher Partner' (p. 126). Never, however, does this coupling mean anything other than the absorbing of *upāya* into *prajñā*, and in this sense Wisdom (*prajñā*) always predominates. The fact that iconographically the *prajñā* is shown as the smaller of the two figures indicates nothing other than the continuance of an iconographic tradition, in which the male figure (icono-

At the same time there is no absolute distinction to be drawn between any of the ritual and its figurative meaning, since the final purpose of the ritual is nothing other than that meaning, and at any stage it might still be employed without necessarily belying the higher intention. The fool was not he who did these things, but he who did them ignorant of their true import. This applies particularly to the important rite of *maithuna*. In its symbolic interpretation it may be associated with the idea of mystic absorption into the great *prajñāpāramitā*, an idea which is never dissociated from

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graphically) predominated. The old forms receive now new significance, and it would be absurd to deny the new significance because of the old forms.

[1] See II. xi. 11–15.

[2] See p. 17.

[3] See I. vii. d, I. xi. b, and II. x. b.

it. This idea precedes the *tantras* themselves; they seem to give it actual substance for a period, and then it returns again to the sphere of pure idea. It is in the actual interpretation of this rite that the Buddhist *tantras* differ chiefly from the non-Buddhist, and it is unfortunate that the relative ignorance concerning Buddhist *tantras* should have permitted reference to them with terminology which is just not properly applicable. In recent European and Indian works the feminine element is now regularly referred to as the *śakti*, but yet she is no *śakti* (active power). She is here *prajñā*, the eternally quiescent one, and it is by means of her partner (*upāya*) that phenomenal existence comes about. The whole idea of power is essentially absent where she is concerned, and to refer to Hevajra and his *śakti*, or any other Buddhist male divinity 'and *śakti*', already now the practice in our museums, reveals a misunderstanding of the whole Buddhist conception. If we must use a Sanskrit term, the correct term is *prajñā*, as our text here will amply demonstrate. If we use English, the term 'partner' will serve. The term *śakti* is not used in Buddhist *tantras*.[1] Elaboration of this theme is not here necessary, for this has been the whole subject of this introduction. The *yogin* as Means (*upāya*) is absorbed into Wisdom (*prajñā*), and the Great Bliss (*mahāsukha*) is achieved.

While on the one hand we should recognize in all fairness the essential purity in intention of any ritual rightly performed, in that it consists in an identifying of *saṃsāra* with *nirvāṇa*, in a transmuting of a lower form into a higher, of that which is imperfect into that which is perfect, we must on the other hand be aware of the opposite effect that results, namely the identifying of *nirvāṇa* in *saṃsāra*. While the first is essentially blameless, the second is clearly liable to either proper or improper use. Its use is proper only when the intention is right. To produce a *maṇḍala* with its various parts, to envisage it as a representation of existence as it appears to be, and then to identify it in a higher principle, is a satisfactory proceeding perhaps, so long as one continues to embody that higher principle. One could then say convincingly: '*OṂ HERUKA-svabhāvātmako 'HAṂ*'. As a means towards this stage one had provisionally identified that which was imperfect with that which is perfect, and this was justified in so far as perfection was achieved. But it ceases altogether to be justified when this ideal is no longer realized, or in the case of its non-realizability. It is with this measure that one may in fairness attempt to estimate the value of the later Buddhist developments.

There was nothing new in the theory that in order to restore that which was imperfect (= *duḥkha*) into that which was perfect, that which was perfect must provisionally manifest itself as imperfect, that is to say in a form that would be recognizable to imperfect beings, and so might serve as means towards their transformation. A docetic theory of Śākyamuni Buddha, which involves precisely this idea, is present in the *Lalitavistara*, and finds still fuller development in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. It was this same idea that transformed the significance of the *stūpa*, so that from being a reliquary to which honour was due, it became a symbol of the *dharmakāya* from which power might be derived. This same change affects the stone figures. The quasi-historical representations of Gandhara sculpture become the stereotyped and idealized *buddhas* of later Buddhist times. The intention of the onlooker changes from that of devotion to an historical person, and becomes one of desire for self-identification with a transcendent ideal. It is this change which is the very essence of the *mahāyāna*, and in it are involved all future developments.

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[1] It occurs nowhere in the *Hevajra-tantra*. In Bhattacharya's edition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* it is printed in error for the correct reading which is given in a footnote (p. 28, note 6). It may be noted that it is liable to occur only in isolated *mantras*, e.g. *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, Narthang Kanjur *rGyud*, vii. 346*b* 1.

What is new in the *tantras* is the manner in which they draw certain conclusions from those premisses, conclusions that could logically be drawn, but nevertheless involved a certain contradiction with the original intention. Their whole theory of symbols is based on this same idea of perfection existing in an imperfect form, by means of which one gains the otherwise unattainable perfection. But they advance from this position in that, instead of symbols, they adopt ritual acts, where previously a symbol would have served. Now the act, rightly performed, may well be more effective than a mere idea represented by the symbol, but there is clearly the danger of the act becoming detached from its intended significance or of its use by those who are unable to comprehend that significance. For these may still claim in accordance with basic theory that *saṃsāra* is identical with *nirvāṇa*. It is here that one sees the fallacy of the whole theory of identification, already referred to above (p. 29). It may be all very well to say that *saṃsāra* is *nirvāṇa* if one remains in *nirvāṇa* (= mystic realization), but the theory, to say the least, lends itself to considerable misunderstanding, if one remains in *saṃsāra* (= normal phenomenal existence) and still maintains that all is *nirvāṇa*. From this misunderstanding arises the notion that those who have once experienced the 'Great Bliss' can do as they please, that whatever their acts, they themselves are free from their consequences, for they are beyond the notions of what is suitable and unsuitable, what is right and wrong.

This same desire to see *nirvāṇa* as *saṃsāra* in every possible manner had yet another effect, which certainly strengthened the claim of Buddhism to be a universal religion, and not merely a special technique for 'those of keen senses'. In this respect it is difficult to regard the *tantras* as issuing in a degeneracy. Their elaboration of the use of symbol provides those external forms which are essential to the existence of a religion that is to enter into the life of a people and form the backbone of its culture. We can but surmise from their Nepalese and Tibetan versions the wonder that those great Indian *stūpas* excited and the devotion they instilled; how wonderful too must have been those murals that adorned the walls of the monasteries, and the images and banners that filled the temples, the throngs of monks that passed in succession to their regular offices, or assembled for bouts of philosophical disputation. It is of this whole setting that the *tantras* form part. It is this which they have strangely helped to enrich. Those same texts that may well distress us with the barbarity of their language and the crudity of their expression, were for them sacred symbols, for the Tantra of Hevajra is the verbal expression of Hevajra, even as the image represents his physical form. Probably very few were concerned to know the actual meaning of the words which formed this verbal expression. It was learned and recited ritually as one of the means of consubstantiation with the divinity which it expressed, and when it is commented upon by those few who were skilled in the meaning of its parts, they themselves would conceive of it in no other way than as a means to this same self-experience. The literal interpretations, so useful to us, that they sometimes provide, are merely incidental to the main intention, and are therefore seldom plainly stated, but must more often be deduced. They wrote their commentaries neither for those who wished to eat repulsive sacraments, nor for those who desired to study critically such strange practices, but for those who wished to consume the notion of their own selfhood. This is so apparent in the manner of their writing, so completely taken for granted, that it is oneself who becomes the fool, when one sets about a literal interpretation of the text. For them the text, like the image, is but an expression of the essentially inexpressible. It is itself the convention, the *samaya*.

# PART I

## CHAPTER i. THE BODY OF HEVAJRA[1]

**a.** (1) Thus have I heard—at one time the Lord dwelt in bliss with the Vajrayoginī who is the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Buddhas. (2) There the Lord pronounced these words: 'Greatly to be revered is this most secret of all secret things, this essence which is the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Buddhas. O Vajragarbha, good, good indeed, thou Great Bodhisattva of great compassion. Do thou listen to this which is named Hevajra, the essence of Vajrasattva, Mahāsattva, and Mahāsamayasattva.' (3) Vajragarbha replied: 'Why Vajrasattva, how so Mahāsattva and wherefore Samayasattva? May the Lord please explain.' (4) The Lord replied:

'It is indivisible and so known as Vajra.
A Being which is unity of three;[2]
Because of this device[3] he's known as Vajrasattva (Adamantine Being).
(5) He is full of the flavours of great knowledge, and so he is called Mahāsattva (Great Being);
From his continual creation of conventional forms, as Samayasattva (Convention Being) he's named.'

**b.** (6) Vajragarbha said: 'What is meant by this composite name of HEVAJRA? What is proclaimed by the sound HE, and likewise what by VAJRA?'

(7) The Lord replied:

'By HE is proclaimed great compassion, and wisdom by VAJRA. Do thou listen to this *tantra*, the essence of Wisdom and Means, which now is proclaimed by me. (8) Its proficiency is known to be manifold; it teaches the gazes,[1] how to conjure forth and the language of secret signs, how to petrify, how to drive away, how to bewitch an army into rigidity. (9) It is the means of producing and maintaining the *yoginīs* in accordance with right method; it is proficient in knowledge, both absolute and relative[2] in the matter of the due order of appearance of the divinities. (10) But in the first place it is the one means of producing Heruka, and it is by such production[3] that men are released, O Vajragarbha of great compassion. (11) They are bound by the bonds of existence and released by knowledge of them. O wise one, you should conceive of existence in knowledge of its non-existence, and likewise you should conceive of Heruka in knowledge of his non-existence. (12) Great knowledge abides in the body, free of all falsification, but although it pervades all things and exists in the body, it is not in the body that it arises.'

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[1] The English chapter-titles are not intended in every case as a translation of the Sanskrit. They merely represent an attempt to characterize the subject-matter as concisely as possible.

[2] The unity of three is the unity of Body, Speech, and Mind, and with this interpretation the commentators are generally in agreement. Dharmakīrti, however, understands it as the unity of the three worlds, *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, and *arūpadhātu*, which is achieved in the condition of voidness—*stoṅ pa ñid du chos thams cad dbyer mi phyed paḥo / srid pa gsum ste ḥdod khams gzugs khams gzugs med paḥi khams gsum stoṅ par gcig paḥo /* (xvii. 343*a* 4). See p. 28.

[3] The interpretation of *anayā prajñayā yuktyā* presents some difficulty. The Tibetan versions generally confirm our text with their: *śes rab rigs pa ḥdi yis na*, which, being a literal translation, does not help in clarifying the meaning. K, having quoted the text correctly, then interprets as though it were: *anayā prajñāyuktyā* (vol. II, p. 105, ll. 6–7). Bh, however, says: '*prajñayā yuktyā*' 'that is to say, here in this application is the authority of logical inference'—*śes rab rig pa źes gsuṅ ste / rigs pa na ḥdir rjes su dpag paḥi tshad ma ste /* (xv. 199*b* 5). The phrase reoccurs in a similar context at I, v. 8. In both places the easiest way of satisfying demands of syntax is to translate: 'by this wise device'. *prajñā* can itself, however, mean 'device', and I prefer to accept it as simply a synonym in apposition, as does also Bh (quoted above).

**c.** (13) Then Vajragarbha said: 'How many veins are there, Lord, in the

[1] Concerning 'gazes' see Part I, ch. xi a.

[2] 'knowledge absolute and relative'—*jñānavijñāna*. K, however, explains *jñāna* as astrology, &c.' and *vijñāna* as 'attendance on one's master' (p. 105, l. 28).* R likewise: *ye śes ni skar maḥi rtsis la sogs paḥo | rnam śes ni slob dpon gyi las thams cad la mkhas paḥo |* (xvii. 255*a* 7). Bh interprets *jñāna* as the knowledge that produces perfection (*siddhi*) and *vijñāna* as knowledge of the fivefold enlightenment (see Introduction p. 29) *ye śes ni dṅos grub gtan la dbab paḥi ye śes so | rnam śes ni mṅon par byaṅ chub pa rnam pa lṅaḥi ye śes so |* (xv. 201*b* 4–5). S has the most satisfactory solution: *ye śes ni de kho na ñid | rnam par śes pa ni rDo rje ma la sogs paḥo |* '*jñāna* means the absolute; *vijñāna* means Vajrā and her companions' (xv. 143*b* 1) made clear by V:

*de las dṅos po skye ba ni |*
*gzuṅ daṅ ḥdzin paḥi dbye ba las|*
*yul daṅ dbaṅ poḥi sbyor ba yis |*
*rnam śes rnams kyi so soḥo |*
*dṅos poḥi ḥchiṅ bas ḥchiṅ bar ḥgyur |*
*dṅos poḥi ḥchiṅ ba de yis rnam par śes pa rnams daṅ mig la sogs pa rnams ḥchiṅ bar byed do|*
*de yoṅs su śes pas grol bar byed |*
*yul daṅ dbaṅ po rnams ḥgog pas de yoṅs su śes pas śes paḥo |* 'From that (the sound HŪṂ) phenomenal existence arises from the distinction between subject and object (*grāhyagrāhaka*), and from the association of the sense organs and their spheres each different kind of consciousness (*vijñāna*) arises, and one is bound by the bond of phenomenal existence. That bond of phenomenal existence binds the different types of consciousness and the eye and the rest. By the knowing of this release is achieved. When spheres and senses cease to function, and one experiences it, that is absolute knowledge (*jñāna*)' (xv. 12*a* 5–6).

The two terms refer here (*ślokas* 9 and 10) to the twofold process, whereby the divinities are produced in due order (*utpattikrama*) and then reabsorbed (*sampannakrama*). *Vijñāna* refers to the process of emanation, and therefore S (quoted above) refers it to Vajrā and the other divinities. See W. Kirfel, *Die buddhistischen Termini jñāna und vijñāna*, *ZDMG* 92, 1928, pp. 494–8.

[3] *bhāva* here translated 'production', for the producing of Heruka or Hevajra and his cycle represents existence (*bhāva*), which is conceived of as being produced just in the same way.

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* Since all such references to the text of K can apply only to vol. II, this volume reference will from now on be omitted.

*vajra*-body?' 'There are thirty-two veins', he replied, 'thirty-two that bear *bodhicitta*, and flow into the place of great bliss. Among these three veins are the chief, *Lalanā*, *Rasanā*, and *Avadhūtī*. (14) *Lalanā* has the nature of Wisdom and *Rasanā* consists in the Means, and *Avadhūtī* is in the middle, free from the notions of subject and object.

(15) *Lalanā* is the bearer of *Akṣobhya* and *Rasanā* the bearer of blood, and she who is known as the bearer of both[1] is famed as *Avadhūtī*.'

(16–19) Their names are: Indivisible, Subtly-formed, Divine, Left-handed, Dwarfish, Tortoise-born, Anchoress, Consecration, Fault, Pervader, Mother, Savage, Freshener, Heat, Lalanā, Avadhūtī, Rasanā, Bent, Black, Beautiful, Common, Producer of the Cause, Unattached, Affectionate, Perfected, Purifying, High-minded, Threefold, Lustful, Homely, Impetuous, Daughter of Death.

(19) Vajragarbha again asked: 'Of what kind, Lord, are these thirty-two veins?' (20) The Lord replied: 'They are all a permutation of the triple nature and essentially free of the notions of subject and object, but on the other hand when they are used as means, they are conceived as possessing the characteristics of phenomenal things.' (21) Now are listed the components of the internal *maṇḍala*:[2]

ĀLI—sun—wisdom (which represent the left vein);
KĀLI—moon—means (which represent the right vein);

| | *Navel* | *Heart* | *Throat* | *Head* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (22) | E | VAM | MA | YĀ | |
| | Locanā | Māmakī | Pāṇḍuradevī | Tārā | 4 goddesses |
| (23) | *nirmāṇa* | *dharma* | *sambhoga* | *mahāsukha* | 4 *cakras* |
| | (body) | (mind) | (speech) | (unity of body, speech, and mind) | |
| | lotus of: | | | | |
| | 64 petals | 8 petals | 16 petals | 32 petals | |
| (24) | variety | development | consummation | blank | 4 moments |
| (25) | worship | adoration | propitiation | fulfilment | 4 requisites |
| (26) | sorrow | its origination | its cessation | the way | 4 truths |
| (27) | self | spell | divinity | knowledge | 4 realities |
| (28) | joy | perfect joy | joy of cessation | innate joy | 4 joys |
| (29) | *sthavira* | *sarvāstivāda* | *samvidī* | *mahāsaṅgika* | 4 schools |

(30) Then there are ĀLI, KĀLI, sun, and moon,[3] the 16 phases, the 64 periods, the 32 hours and the 4 watches. So everything goes in fours.

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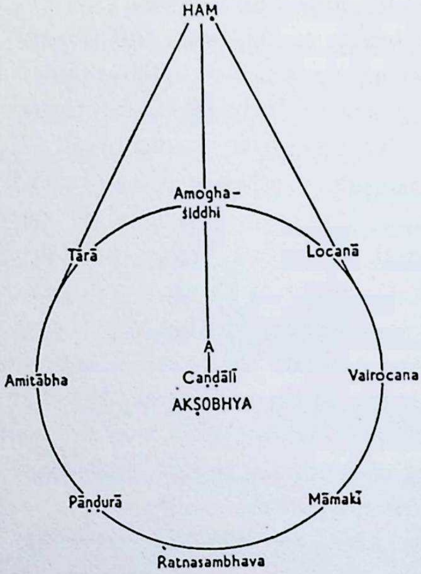
[1] According to the text 'bearer of Wisdom and Moon', but these terms have the same significance as blood and *akṣobhya*, and I avoid the confusion of too many synonymous terms. *Akṣobhya* = *bodhicitta* (see p. 25).

[2] 'internal *maṇḍala*' = *saṃvara*. See pp. 35–39 and Glossary p. 138.

[3] These four, ĀLI, &c. are listed for the second time, for they not only form sets of pairs with *lalanā* / *rasanā*, *prajñā* / *upāya*, but can also be arranged to fit into the four circles. So V arranges them: *dpral bar* ĀLI*ḥo* / *mgrin par* KĀLI*ḥo* / *sñiṅ khar śes rab bo* / *lte bar thabs so* / (xv. 18*b* 3).

(31) Caṇḍālī blazes up at the navel.
She burns the Five Buddhas.
She burns Locanā and the others.
HAṂ is burnt and the Moon melts.[1]



## CHAPTER ii. MANTRAS

a. We shall expound the chapter on *mantras*.

(1) *the* mantra *that accompanies offerings to all the spirits:*
OṂ A—origin of all things for they are essentially non-arisen—OṂ ĀḤ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(2) *the seed of the buddhas:*
BUṂ AṂ JRĪṂ KHAṂ HŪṂ.[2]

(3) *the heart of Hevajra:*
OṂ DEVA PICU VAJRA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(4) *the basis of all* mantras:
they have OṂ at the beginning, SVĀHĀ at the end and are adorned with HŪṂ PHAṬ.

(5) *the* mantra *for causing a city to tremble*:
OṂ A KA CA ṬA TA PA YA ŚA SVĀHĀ.

(6) *the seed of the* yoginīs:
A Ā I Ī U Ū Ṛ Ṝ Ḷ Ḹ E AI O AU AṂ AḤ.

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[1] K deals with this verse very fully (p. 110). See the Introduction, pp. 36-37.

[2] The correct reading of this set of syllables is confirmed by V who quotes them as BUṂ AṂ JRĪṂ KHAṂ HŪṂ (xv. 26*a* 7). They also reappear in the text below (12) to (16) and on p. 55 fn. (quotation from K). The readings of all the other *mantras* in this chapter are confirmed by chapter 9 of Part II, where they are all spelled letter by letter.

(7) *the* mantra *of the two-armed form:*
OṂ TRAILOKYĀKṢEPA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(8) *of the four-armed form:*
OṂ JVALAJVALABHYO HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(9) *of the six-armed form:*
OṂ KIṬI KIṬI VAJRA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(10) *the* mantra *for the empowering of body, speech, and mind:*
OṂ ĀḤ HŪṂ

(11) *the* mantra *for purifying the site:*
OṂ RAKṢA RAKṢA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(12) *Petrifying*: OṂ HŪṂ SVĀHĀ.

(13) *Subduing*: OṂ AṂ SVĀHĀ.

(14) *Driving away*: OṂ KHAṂ SVĀHĀ.

(15) *Causing hatred*: OṂ JRĪṂ SVĀHĀ.

(16) *Bewitching*: OṂ BUṂ SVĀHĀ.

(17) *Conjuring forth*: OṂ HŪṂ SVĀHĀ.

(18) *Slaying*: OṂ GHUḤ SVĀHĀ.

(19) OṂ KURU KULLE HRĪ SVĀHĀ.[1]

(20) *Rain-producing ritual*: OṂ ĀḤ PHUḤ. Intoning these syllables, make an image of a snake, wash it with the five ambrosias,[2] honour it with blue lotuses,[3] smear it with *nāga*-subduing juice,[4] smear its head with ichor, and having made a pot by placing two dishes together, lay the snake inside. Then fill the pot with milk from a black cow and wrap it in a woven cloth that has been cut by a dark-skinned girl. Then in the north-west make a small pool, and place the snake in it. At its edge lay out the *maṇḍala*. Black colouring is obtained from charcoal of the cemetery, white from ground human bones, yellow from green lac, red from cemetery-bricks, green from *caurya* leaves and ground human bones, and dark blue from ground human bones and cemetery charcoal. With these colours lay out the *maṇḍala*, measuring it with a cemetery thread[5] three cubits, three inches in size. In the centre draw Hevajra in the act of trampling on a snake; he has eight faces, four feet, sixteen arms, and twenty-four eyes.

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[1] This is the *mantra* of the goddess Kurukullā. See I. xi, c.

[2] The five ambrosias are the five products of the cow, K (p. 111, l. 18); according to V (xv. 35*b* 2) milk, curds, butter, sugar, honey.

[3] So explained by V: *utpala sṅon pa* (xv. 35*b* 2).

[4] *Nāga*-subduing juice is unexplained by the commentaries. Tib assists only in defining *nāga* as snake, which is in any case to be expected in the context.

[5] According to V: a thread made from the guts of a corpse: *dur khrod kyi sraṅ bus śes pa roḥi rgyus pa rnams kyis byas paḥi sraṅ bus*—(xv. 35*b* 6).

Then the master, his mind resolved in inmost wrath, should utter this *mantra* in that lonely spot:

> OṂ GHURU GHURU GHUḌU GHUḌU GHAṬA GHAṬA GHOṬAYA GHOṬAYA[1] O Lord of the *nāgas* who causes the snakes to tremble, He-he Ru-ru Ka—those *nāgas* who have gone to the seven lower realms, drag them forth, drag them forth, rain, rain, thunder, thunder—PHUḤ PHUḤ PHUḤ PHUḤ PHUḤ PHUḤ PHUḤ PHUḤ HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

If it does not rain now, one should recite this *mantra* backwards. If then they do not produce rain, their heads will burst like bunches of bread-fruit.[2]

(21) *The cloud-rending ritual:*[3]

Taking one's seat on a cemetery-shroud, one rends them by reciting this *mantra:*

> OṂ noble one to whom the cemetery is dear—HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

(22) *The ritual of the vajra-knife:*

I tell of the chalk-ritual for destroying an enemy army. Having pounded the chalk, mix it with the five ambrosias and *kuṭhārachinna*[4] and make a small ball. The *mantra* is:

> OṂ vajra-knife—o Hevajra HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ.

For the gaining of *siddhi* he should recite it ten million times, and for the above-mentioned practice a hundred thousand times. He should then wrap round the neck of the jar upon which the ritual is being practised, and having wrapped it round, he should break it off. All the enemies will become headless.[5]

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[1] The whole of this *mantra* is translatable, although of course at the expense of the sonorous effect, whence their power was derived: *ghur* = roar, *ghuḍ* = defend, *ghaṭ* = strive, *ghuṭ* = strike.

[2] S asserts that the heads of the *nāgas* will burst (xv. 145*b* 7)—not that of the officiant in the event of his failure! V implies so (xv. 36*b* 6). Ch clearly states so: 'Then if it does not rain, it will cause the heads of those *nāga*-kings to burst into seven pieces like a bunch of *arjaka*' (589*a* 27). '*Arjaka*' is explained by K (p. 111, l. 20) and by Bh (xv. 209*a* 7) as 'bread-fruit' (*panasa*). According to V. it is like black *mallikā*, has a white stalk, and bursts at the light of the sun—*ardzaka źes pa dbyug pa dkar po can mallika nag po ḥdra ba ste—ñi maḥi ḥod kyis ḥgas pa* (xv. 36*b* 6). S says likewise that it has a white stalk and that its ears burst at the contact of the sun—*ardzaka źes pa ni sdoṅ bu dkar po ste deḥi sñe ma ji lta bar źes pa de la ñi mas reg pas skad cig gis rnam pa du mar ḥgas par ḥgyur ba de bźin du klu rnams kyi mgo bo ḥgas so* (xv. 145*b* 7).

[3] V gives a fuller account which gives some more point to this particular rite. When the rain becomes excessive, he says, place the snake in a pot which has been filled with ashes from the cemetery, and seated on a shroud, &c.—*gaṅ gi tshe char ches par gyur na deḥi tshe mthaḥ yas de dur khrod kyi thal bas khaṃ phor bkaṅ bar bźag par bya ste / sñags pas dur khrod kyi ras la ñe bar ḥdug nas*, &c. (xv. 37*a* 2).

The invocation itself seems to be clearly addressed to Śiva.

[4] Tibetan versions either transliterate *kuṭhārachinna* or translate without comment as *sta res gcod pa* 'cut with an axe'. Ch glosses with *ts'ao* 'grass' (589*c* 3). The sense of the term remains uncertain; perhaps the flesh of someone slain by an axe (cf. *śastrahata*, I. vii. 21).

[5] This 'knife' ritual is confusedly explained. A more logical account is given by V and

(23) *The ritual for the destruction of gods:*[1]

One who wishes to destroy the gods must perform the ritual upon an axe-shaped mark (*tilaka*). A *palāśa* seed,[2] plucked under Puṣya[3] and mixed with *kuṭhārachinna*, he should pound together with *śukra* under a solar eclipse. Having pounded it, he should form it into an axe. Trampling it beneath the feet he should recite the *mantra*:

OṂ vajra-axe—cleave cleave HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

Reciting it ten million times, he should make homage to the *tilaka*, and the one to whom it clings will burst.[4]

(24) *The burning ritual:*

One should write the name of an enemy on an *arka*-leaf with the juice of poisonous mustard and burning *citraka*, and throwing it in a fire chaff, recite this *mantra* ten thousand times:

OṂ Hevajra—burn burn this enemy BHRUṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

By reciting it ten thousand times one succeeds.

(25) *The vomiting ritual:*

If one wishes to cause the vomiting forth of intoxicants, one should imagine the syllable MAṂ on the navel of the patient. One imagines the syllable MAṂ becoming a belly full of wine. He is seen as vomiting, and he vomits the wine.

S. Two uses of this *mantra* are given, firstly for converting living beings who are hard to convert. For this ten million recitations are required accompanied by a million offerings (xv. 37*a* 3–4). Secondly it is used for this enemy-destroying rite, when a hundred thousands suffice. S's account of this follows:

Grind the chalk together with the five nectars and with *kuṭhārachinna* make it into a pellet the size of an eye. Then place it in Heruka's mouth and recite the *mantra* until the image ejects it from its mouth and gives it back to the officiant; if in one session he makes a hundred thousand recitations, the rite will succeed. If he then makes a mark with the chalk on the neck of a spherical vessel, that very thing will appear on the necks of the victim and his followers. He then exercises faith so that these are severed—*bdud rtsi lṅa daṅ rdo rgyus btags te / sta res gcod pa daṅ lhan cig tu mig tsam gyi ri lu byas te Herukaḥi khar bcug ste sṅags bzlas nas ji srid du sku gzugs raṅ gi kha nas raṅ byuṅ ste sgrub pa po la ma btad pa de srid du sten gcig la ḥbum bzlas pas grub par ḥgyur te / rdo rgyus de*[•] *ril pa spyi blugs kyi mgrin pa la ri mo bris na bsgrub bya ḥkhor daṅ bcas paḥi mgrin pa la de ñid snaṅ ḅar ḥgyur te / ḥdi ni ḥphral du yid ches par byed paḥo /*

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[1] The gods are the gods of the *tīrthikas* (xv. 37*a* 7).

[2] *brahmabija* is explained as *palāśa* by most of the commentators (R. xvii. 267*b* 7 S. xv. 146*a* 5, V. xv. 37*b* 1); *palāśa* according to Apte is Butea Frondosa.

[3] 'plucked under Puṣya', so interpreted by R *rgyal la blaṅs pa* (xvii. 268*a* 1).

[4] The manuscripts are in agreement, but do not make for coherent translation. T, however: *bye la bzlas la thig le byas te gaṅ la phyag byas la de ḥgas so* = *koṭim japya tilakaṃ kuryād yam ca vandate sa sphuṭati*. V and S confirm this. According to V, 'having pulverised (the mixture), he must make a *tilaka* of the form of an axe, and by doing that, the god to whom the officiant bows, will burst'—*de bdar bas dgra staḥi rnam paḥi thig le byaḥo / byas pa des lha gaṅ la sgrub pa pos phyag ḥtshal ba de*[s] *ḥgas par byed paḥo.*

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[•] It would be preferable to read here: *rdo rgyus des.*

(26) *The ritual for gaining mastery of a young woman:*

One who wishes to quell a young woman should go on the eighth day of *aśoka* to the foot of an *aśoka*-tree, and donning a red garment, he should eat *madana*-fruit. Then making a *tilaka* with *kāmācika*-juice, he should recite this *mantra*:

> OṂ HRĪ may she come into my power SVĀHĀ.[1]

By reciting it ten thousand times one gets her to come.

(27) *The ritual for holding sun and moon:*

One who wishes to have power over sun and moon, should make a sun and moon of ground-rice, throw them into *vajra*-water, and recite this *mantra*:

> OṂ sun and moon, move not, move not; stay, stay—o Hevajra HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

One should recite it seventy million times and they will stand still so that sun and moon will be indistinguishable day and night.

(28) *The ritual for seeking a thing which is lost:*

In order to gain success in this one should enchant at night time the eye of a maiden with this formula, repeating it 108 times:

> OṂ NAGRĀ NAGRĀ,

honouring her with the five kinds of offerings, flowers, incense, lamps and so on. Then at night on the eighth or fourteenth day having put ready jars containing sesame oil and lac,[2] one should enchant them with this formula repeated 108 times. Next smearing his big toe with the enchanted lac, and washing it with the sesame oil, he should show it to the girl, saying: Speak! Who has removed this thing of mine?' Then she will reply: 'Such or such a one.' This is Vajra-astrology.

(29) OṂ VEḌUYĀ VEḌUYĀ—pronounce this and an elephant flees.

(30) OṂ MARMMĀ MARMMĀ—pronounce this and a tiger flees.

(31) OṂ TELIYĀ TELIYĀ—pronounce this and a rhinoceros flees.

(32) ILI MILI PHUḤ PHUḤ—pronounce this and a serpent flees.

(33) Show your hand with a gesture which indicates protection of wealth and power of subduing, and a dog will flee.

**b.** (34) It is in association with Vajrā, Gaurī, Vārī, Vajraḍākinī, Nairātmikā,

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[1] This is the *mantra* of Kurukullā as given at I. i. 19, with the words *amuki me vaśibhavatu* added. It is correctly quoted by V: OṂ KURUKULLE HRĪḤ *amukaṃ me vaśibhavatu* SVĀHĀ (xv. 38*a* 2). Our text distorts the word-order.

[2] Translated freely, but on the basis of V: 'on the eighth or fourteenth day in the early morning having put down the jars, place on them branches of a sappy tree (?), putting the sesame oil in the copper jar and the lac in the other'—*bcu bźi paḥam brgyad pa la sṅa droḥi dus su bum pa bźag nas deḥi steṅ du | ḥo ma can gyi śiṅ gi yal ga bkod ciṅ ḥbru mar zaṅs maḥi snod du bźag ste | rgya skyegs kyi khu ba snod gźan duḥo |* (xv. 38*a* 7).

Bhūcari, and Khecarī, that the yogin practises the rites of petrifying and so on.[1]

[1] These rites and their *mantras* have been listed above in this chapter. The following quotation is from K (pp. 111–13): 'This refers to the practice of *mantras*. (i) One should mentally produce Vajrā, who becoming manifest from the syllable ĀṂ, is white in colour, treads upon a corpse and holds knife, skull, and *khaṭvāṅga*. One should worship her as prescribed, repeating the *mantra*: OṂ HŪṂ SVĀHĀ one hundred thousand times. Then one should write in chalk the syllable MAṂ on a dish of unbaked (clay). In the middle of it one should put the *mantra*: OṂ HŪṂ Make Devadatta stay HŪṂ SVĀHĀ. Then one must fill it with ashes from a funeral pyre, place another unbaked dish on top to serve as a cover, and on the top of this draw the square *maṇḍala* of Mahendra. Then place it on the ground, put your foot on it and repeat the 'staying-still' *mantra* 108 or one thousand times: OṂ HŪṂ Make Devadatta stay HŪṂ SVĀHĀ. Then he will be made to stay.

(ii) One should mentally produce yellow Gaurī, who is of a saffron-reddish colour and holds a noose and a hook. Then meditating upon the syllable AṂ of colour like unto a *bandhūka*-flower (as situated) in your own heart, one should worship her as prescribed, repeating the *mantra*: OṂ AṂ SVĀHĀ. Then you should imagine the woman who is to be subdued, in front of you, red in colour, naked and with dishevelled hair, and with the syllable AṂ at her pudenda. If it is a man, it will be at his heart. The syllable AṂ is like fire and one must imagine it blazing. Then repeating the *mantra*: OṂ AṂ GAURI Lead her into my power AṂ SVĀHĀ, one must imagine her bound with the noose round the neck and pierced at the heart with the hook, and drawn near, and thrown at your feet. Then she will be certainly subdued.

(iii) One should mentally produce Vāriyoginī, who becoming manifest from the syllable I, is dark blue in colour, holds a mirror and is pointing. Then one must imagine the syllable KHAṂ on a solar disk at the heart, and worship her as prescribed, repeating the *mantra*: OṂ KHAṂ SVĀHĀ. Then one must imagine the fellow against whom the rite is to be practised, as naked and with dishevelled hair, dark blue in colour and mounted on a wild boar. He is facing right and in the act of fleeing while being beaten with the cruel blows of clubs. For a week one must repeat the *mantra*: OṂ KHAṂ VĀRIYOGINĪ Chase away this fellow KHAṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ, and he will certainly be chased away.

(iv) One should meditate on Vajrayoginī with the syllable U and imagine the syllable JRIṂ dark blue in colour on a solar disk at the heart. One should worship her as prescribed, repeating the *mantra*: OṂ JRIṂ SVĀHĀ one hundred thousand times. Then one must imagine the two against whom the rite is to be practised, as mounted on a horse and a buffalo and as fighting together. One repeats the *mantra*: OṂ JRIṂ VAJRAḌĀKINI Cause Devadatta and Jñānadatta to hate one another JRIṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ, and it will certainly cause them to hate one another.

(v) One must imagine Nairātmyā, who becomes manifest from the syllable AṂ. Her appearance is fearful and she holds the skull, *khaṭvāṅga* and knife. On a solar disk at the heart one sees the syllable BUṂ, dark blue in colour, and having performed the prescribed worship, one should draw a six-sided *maṇḍala* in a brahma-skull with a mixture of poisonous mustard and blood. In the six corners one must inscribe the syllable HŪṂ and in the centre OṂ BUṂ Burn him HŪṂ. For any intended misfortunes one should write his name and burn it in a chaff-fire (passage corrupt). In fierce rites one should always end the *mantra* with: HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ.

(vi) One should mentally produce Khecarī, who becomes manifest from her own seed-syllable and is standing on a corpse. Then one should imagine the victim blazing on the air and fire-*maṇḍalas*. One draws forth from one's heart a red ray of light, which one must cause to enter the victim by way of the right nostril, and having pierced her heart, one must extract the ray by way of the left nostril. Then drawing it with the breath into one's own heart, one recites the *mantra*. She will certainly be drawn to one's presence.

(vii) One should meditate on Bhūcarī, who becomes manifest from her seed-syllable and is dark-blue in colour. Then having performed worship as before, one should imagine a burning *vajra*, which becomes manifest from the syllable GHUḤ and is entering the rear of the victim who is face-downwards. One should recite the *mantra*: OṂ GHUḤ BHŪCARI Slay him HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ and he will certainly die.' See also notes to text of K, p. 112.

## CHAPTER iii. HEVAJRA AND HIS TROUPE

(1) We shall expound the chapter on the divinities. First[1] one should produce thought of love, secondly that of compassion, thirdly that of joy, and last of all that of impassibility.

(2) Then again: first the realization of the void, secondly the seed in which all is concentrated, thirdly the physical manifestation, and fourthly one should implant the syllable.[2]

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[1] 'First' in the sense of first of this set of four, for 'first of all, having settled in a pleasant place and adopted a comfortable posture, one should pronounce three times: OṂ RAKṢA RAKṢA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ in order to protect the site, oneself, and the performance. Then one should worship Bhagavān whose form should be present on a picture or some other representation, with one's own *mantra*, and having intoned the dedication, one should make a confession of wrong done, an act of gladness at merit gained, and perform the triple-refuge. Then having produced the thought of enlightenment, after that one should first practise the meditation of love' (K: p. 113, ll. 14–19). These preliminaries are given in a similar form by most of the other commentators. Bh adds: 'after the taking of the triple-refuge, one should make an offering of oneself, which will be mentioned below (see I, vi. 19); having made a gift of one's own self, one should make the vow which is the thought of enlightenment: 'May I, having become Heruka, make all beings without exception into Heruka too.' This also is mentioned later: 'Heruka is a transformation of *saṃsāra*, the foremost of the saviours of the world'; then again later: 'I will save the world'—*gsum la skyabs su ḥdro baḥi rjes la bdag ñid dbul bar byaḥo / źes paḥo / de ñid kyaṅ ḥchad par ḥgyur te / lus kyi sbyin pa byin nas su / źes paḥo / de nas smon pa byaṅ chub kyi sems bskyed par bya ste / bdag ñid dpal Herukar gyur nas ḥgro ba ma lus pa rnams kyaṅ dpal Herukar byaḥo / źes paḥo / de ñid kyaṅ ḥchad par ḥgyur te / ḥkhor baḥi rnam pa Heruka / ḥgro ba sgrol baḥi gtso bo ñid ces paḥo / des na bdag gis ḥgro ba sgrol bar byaḥo / źes pa daṅ*—(xv. 210*a* 2–4).

I have quoted here at some length in order to show how the intention of the ritual that follows, remains that of the traditional *bodhisattva*. The intention is the same; the technique has changed or developed. 'Thought of enlightenment' remains in its traditional sense. The four *brahma-vihāra* are very old property of Indian Yoga and probably belong to the earliest Buddhist practice (Fr. Heiler, *Buddhistische Versenkung*, p. 47 and notes 294 and 295). They lose nothing of their moral force in their present setting. See K: p. 113, l. 19; or N, who emphasizes still more their benevolent character: 'Love is the directing of the thoughts, so that one's relatives and friends, the meanest of them, one's enemies and those who are strangers shall gain happiness and those things that are good for them; compassion is the will to extricate all beings, even at the cost of one's own life, from suffering and the cause of suffering; joy is rejoicing at that which is of benefit to others; impassibility is indifference to the harm caused one by others'—*gñen bśes tha mal pa daṅ dgra bo rnams la pha rol po la daṅ bde ba ñe bar sgrub par sems pa ni byams paḥo / gñis pa sñiṅ rje źes pa la sdug bsṅal daṅ / sdug bsṅal gyi rgyu las sems can rnams thams cad raṅ gi lus daṅ srog gis kyaṅ ḥdon par ḥdod pa ni sñiṅ rjeḥo / . . . gźan la phan pa la raṅs pa ni dgaḥ baḥo / . . . gźan gyi skyon la btaṅ sñoms pa ni kun gyi lhag mar btaṅ sñoms so źes paḥo* (xvii. 92*a* 7–*b* 2). One should note, however, that this whole process is a meditative exercise, forming part of the yogin's own purificatory ritual, and subjective in its application. R gives the reasons for its use: 'for the purpose of rendering firm the thought of enlightenment and all the other roots of virtue, in order to allow no occasion for harmful thoughts or tormentings and in order to protect oneself from the sufferings of an evil future, from Māra and from the Hīnayāna; they are the first branch (of training) for yogins and are common to all yogins'—*byaṅ chub kyi sems la sogs paḥi dge baḥi rtsa ba thams cad brtan par bya baḥi don daṅ / gnod sems daṅ rnam par ḥtshe ba la sogs paḥi skabs mi dbye baḥi phyir daṅ / ṅan ḥgroḥi sdug bsṅal daṅ bdud daṅ theg pa dman pa las bdag ñid bsruṅ baḥi don du ḥdi [du] dag ni rnal ḥbyor pa rnams kyi daṅ poḥi yan lag te rnal ḥbyor pa thams cad kyi thun moṅ ṅo* (xvii. 268*b* 4–5).

[2] This set of four form the body of primary yoga, and are called the fourfold *vajra*—*rnal ḥbyor daṅ poḥi lus ni rdo rje bźi ste* (R: xvii. 268*b* 5). See also GS p. 163 where this

(3) One should imagine before one a solar disk arising from the syllable RAṂ and at its centre a crossed-*vajra* which has emerged from the syllable HŪṂ. As produced from this *vajra* one should imagine a balustrade and canopy.[1]

(4) (Then within the balustrade) one should first imagine a corpse which represents the whole of existence, and the yogin, seated thereupon, should conceive himself of the nature of Heruka (5). In his own heart he imagines the syllable RAṂ and a solar disk arising from it, and then upon that the syllable HŪṂ, the nature of which is Wisdom and Means. (6) It is dark in colour and exceedingly fearful this syllable HŪṂ which has emerged from a *vajra*, and one should conceive of the essence of this HŪṂ as abiding in the heart of the *vajra*. (7) Then he should envisage the syllable HŪṂ as transformed into (Heruka) whose nature is wrath. This Vajra-Born is

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*śloka*: *prathamaṃ śūnyatābodhiṃ*, &c. appears in almost identical form, and is referred to as the *vajracatuṣka*. As for the interpretation of these four stages, the commentaries are in complete agreement on the meaning of the first three. A variation of interpretation for the fourth is given by Bh and K2, both, however, fanciful and without direct relevance to the preceding three. We follow K's commentary: 'What is this realization of the Void, you ask. As all things have the mind for their support, everything is just thought, and with external things thus non-existent, it reflects sense-objects through error. It is like a dream, they say. Furthermore, as mind consists of this reflective quality, its nature is neither one nor many. It should be conceived of as free from false appearances and as consisting of pure brilliance. Now in that brilliance one duly envisages upon a solar disk and so on the divine seed encircled with rays; from that seed by the endless creation of the families of the *yoginīs* the cause of the world is prospered, so in that seed it is concentrated. By means of that seed there comes about the physical manifestation of the god in the semi-*paryaṅka* position or in a dancing posture, mounted upon a corpse upon a solar disk which rests upon the pericarp of a many-petalled lotus. This is the physical manifestation. Fourthly the implanting of the syllable. In one's own heart one should imagine the seed-syllable set on a *maṇḍala*.' (K: p. 113, ll. 114ff). R says exactly the same in substance. For the second stage he says: 'from that seed Vajrā, Gaurī, and their companions pour forth endlessly, and because they are concentrated in that seed, it is called seed-concentration and that one should meditate upon' (xvii. 269*a* 3); and for the fourth: 'in one's heart one should imagine a solar disk, and upon that is placed the syllable of the seed. One should concentrate upon one's own thought as perfected in the nature of that thought which is expressed in the form of one's own divinity who arises from the syllable of that seed resting on the solar disk in the heart'—*raṅ gi sñiṅ gar ñi maḥi dkyil ḥkhor dmigs te | deḥi steṅ du sa bon gyi yi ge bkod la | sñiṅ gaḥi ñi ma la gnas paḥi sa bon gyi yi ge las raṅ gi lhaḥi rnam paḥi sems kyi raṅ bźin gyis rdzogs pa raṅ gi sems bsgom par bya* (xvii. 269*a* 4–5). The four stages are clear: first the concept of the void, then the seed, then the whole phenomenal process, idealized in the circle of divinities, and lastly this whole process envisaged within one's own heart, so that oneself becomes the centre and is consubstantiated with the whole.

As for the grammatical structure of this last phrase, *nyāsam* may be interpreted as *nyasyet*. There are other examples of the verbal noun with dependent accusative. See I. vi. 4. Tib has *dgod*, a future root, and this usually represents a Sanskrit optative.

[1] For a fuller account of these preliminary protective arrangements see K (p. 114, ll. 8–12). 'One conceives of a solar disk sprung from the syllable RAṂ which is red like fire, and upon it a crossed-*vajra* which has emerged from a dark-blue HŪṂ. On a horizontal plane in relation to these one should imagine a *vajra*-balustrade, above them a *vajra*-canopy, and below them a floor of this adamantine material. Outside there should be a blazing *vajra*-fire. This is the meaning of the *śloka*. Then he should empower it by reciting the *mantra*: OṂ RAKṢA RAKṢA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.'

exceedingly dark like a blue lotus in colour, or one may conceive of him as dark blue and red—as one pleases.[1]

(8) Envisaging in the sky that Lord, who is *vajra*-born and of great compassion, one should worship him in the company of eight goddesses who are wearing all their adornments. (9) Gaurī holds the moon, Caurī the sun-vessel, Vetālī holds water, Ghasmarī medicament, (10) Pukkasī holds a *vajra*, Śavarī the ambrosia, and Caṇḍālī sounds a drum. By these the Lord is worshipped, with Ḍombī clinging to his neck and impassioned by great passion.

(11) There is Moon and Sun and betwixt them the Seed. This last is that Being, 'tis taught, whose nature is Joy Supreme. (12) Forms like to his in brilliance shoot forth and cover the expanse of the sky. Drawing them together he induces them into his own heart, and the yogin becomes the Wrathful One himself.[2]

(13) Dark blue and like the sun in colour with reddened and extended eyes,[3] his yellow hair twisted upwards, and adorned with the five symbolic adornments, (14) the circlet, the ear-rings and necklace, the bracelets and belt. These five symbols are well known for the purificatory power[4] of the Five Buddhas. (15) He has the form of a sixteen-year-old youth and is

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[1] 'In accordance with one's own power of perception, whichever colour is agreeable, as such one should conceive him.' (K: p. 114, l. 23). Presumably the idea of *aruṇa* is derived from the solar disk, but it is difficult to conceive of the two colours at once, which is certainly intended. So B: 'the body which is the essence of Heruka is the colour of the dawn mixed with dark-blue'—*sṅo ba daṅ ḥdres pa skya reṅs kyi mdaṅs can gi Herukaḥi bdag ñid kyi sku ni / sṅo daṅ ñi maḥi mdog ces pa* (xv. 213*a* 7). When *nilāruṇābha* recurs in verse 13, he says: 'as for this colour which is blue and like that of the sun, mortals (*mthaḥ can*) are not able to distinguish them. So he is blue and he is the colour of the sun, and therefore it is said he is blue and of colour like the sun'—*sṅo daṅ ñi ma mtshuṅs paḥi mdog ni mthaḥ can gyis rnam par dbye ba⟨r⟩ med paḥo / des ni sṅo ba yaṅ yin la ñi ma yaṅ yin pas na sṅo daṅ ñi ma mtshuṅs paḥi mdog go* (xv. 214*b*1). See *I–T* iii, part 2, frontispiece.

[2] The process here described is again 'the Body of Yoga' (*yogaśarira*), which we discussed above in the note on pp. 56–7. In this second case, however, there is a fivefold distinction, each of the five stages being equated with one of the five wisdoms. Thus R (xvii. 270*b* 1 ff.), D (xvii. 254*b* 6 ff.) and K (p. 114, ll. 32 ff.) all interpret. K quotes the text I. viii. 6–7 q.v. The only difficulty consists in *candrālikālimarttaṇḍa*. There are listed two pairs of synonyms, *āli/kāli* and *sun/moon* (see Introduction, pp. 26–7), the masculine element of one pair united with the feminine of the other: moon (m) and *āli* (f), *kāli* (m), and sun (f). The context requires no other significance in the repetition than that achieved in any other language by similar use of repetition, and the efforts of the commentators, K amongst them, to explain moon as a transformation of *āli*, and *kāli* as transformed into sun, are really superfluous. Compare however I. viii. 5–6. *Sattva* is defined as Vajrasattva by S (xv. 148 5) and as Vajradhara by K. He is the supreme being under any of his names, and both commentators go on to define *svadehābhā* as shining manifestations (K: *ābhāḥ*, S: *ḥod zer*—light rays) like Hevajra in form. Of the process whereby manifestations of this kind fill all the points of the compass we have already spoken (see Introduction, p. 33).

[3] 'Eyes red and extended like a *bandu*, such are red *bandu*-eyes; eyes round, red and extended, this is the meaning'—*bandu ltar rgyas śiṅ dmar baḥi spyan ni bandu dmar poḥi spyan de ñid de / zlum źiṅ dmar la rgyas paḥi spyan źes paḥi don to* (xv. 214*b* 4–5). Ch: 'his eyes are red *bandhuka* (-flowers)'—590*b* 6.

[4] See reference to *viśuddhi*, p. 29. Also I. vi. 11–12.

clad in a tiger-skin. His gaze is wrathful. In his left hand he holds a *vajra*-skull, and a *khaṭvāṅga* likewise in his left, while in his right is a *vajra* of dark hue. In his essence he is the enunciation of the sound HŪṂ.

(16) This Lord plays in the cemetery surrounded by his eight *yoginīs*. 'In the cemetery', we say, because here we have a play on words, for *śvasiti* means 'he breathes' and *śavavasati* means 'resting-place of corpses'.

(17) The four-armed form symbolizes the destruction of the four Māras. He is born of the syllable HŪṂ and his form and colour are as previously described. In the first left-hand he holds a human skull filled with the blood of gods and titans; in the first right hand he holds a *vajra*; with the remaining two hands he embraces *Prajñā*. She is Vajravārāhī and is similar in form to her lord.

(18) The six-armed form has three faces, the left red, the right the colour of the rising moon, and the foremost one dark blue. The six arms symbolize the six Perfections; in the first left hand he holds a trident, in the first right hand a *vajra*, in the second left hand a bell and in the second right hand a knife. With his remaining two hands he clasps Vajraśṛṅkhalā. She too is like her lord. In her right and left hands she holds knife and skull.

He treads upon a corpse who represents the threefold world.

## CHAPTER iv. SELF-CONSECRATION

(1) We shall expound the chapter on divine consecration. Imagine that from the seed[1] in your own heart you lead forth a ray, which is shining black in colour and of the form of a hook, and by means of this you draw in the buddhas who are stationed throughout the threefold world. Having worshipped them with the eight goddesses,[2] you should beseech them saying: 'OṂ may all the buddhas consecrate me'.

(2) Then you will be consecrated by those buddhas who have all assumed the form of Heruka, with the five vessels which symbolize the Five Tathāgatas and which contain the five ambrosias.[3] At the time of consecration there will be a shower of flowers and one of saffron; drums will sound; (3) you will be worshipped by Rūpavajrā and her companions[4] and Locanā

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[1] The seed is HŪṂ (S: xv. 149*a* 1).

[2] Literally: the eight mothers and referring to Gaurī and her seven companions.

[3] Bh interprets the five ambrosias as the Five Wisdoms—*bdud rtsi lṅa źes bya ba ni me loṅ lta buḥi ye śes la sogs pa ye śes lṅa po de dag ñid bdud rtsi ste de dag gis ḥdzin paḥo* (xv. 216*b* 3).

[4] The complete company are:
*Rūpavajrā* who is white and holds a mirror;
*Śabdavajrā* who is black and holds a lute;
*Gandhavajrā* who is yellow and holds a shell with scents;
*Rasavajrā* who is red and holds a begging-bowl filled with fine savours;
*Sparṣavajrā* who is green and holds garments of various hues;

[*footnote cont. overleaf.*

and the others[1] will sing *vajra*-songs.[2] When you have been thus consecrated, the Lord of your Family[3] will appear on your head, and Heruka will be revealed in you.

Performing morning, noon and night this meditation which bestows such power, you should arise, and at all times remain consubstantiated with the divinity.[4]

## CHAPTER V. REALITY

(1) Now we shall expound the chapter on reality.

In reality there is neither form nor seer,
neither sound nor hearer,
There is neither smell nor one who smells, neither taste nor taster,
Neither touch nor one who touches, neither thought nor thinker.[5]

(2) He who is well versed in this yoga gives honour always to the Mother and the Sister. Likewise he to whom this truth is dear, pays honour to Nartī, Rajakī, and Ḍombī,[6] to Caṇḍālī and to Brāhmaṇī, combining Means and Wisdom in the rite.[7]

*Dharmadhātuvajrā* who is yellow and red and holds the triangle of origination (*dharmodaya*—see K (p. 123, l. 24).

Such is the list given by Bh (216*b* 5); it shows, however, some discrepancy in the matter of colours with that given in *I–T* iii. 2, pp. 183–4.

[1] *Locanā*, *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍaravāsinī*, and *Tārā* have already been referred to in the Introduction, p. 31.

[2] As an example of *vajra*-songs S and Bh both quote: *Kollaireṭṭhi*, &c. For this see beginning of Chapter 4, Part II.

[3] The Lord of the Family is Akṣobhya, for it is he who is the hypostasis of Heruka or Hevajra. Bh: *raṅ gi rigs śes pa ni Mi bskyod paḥo* (xv. 217*a* 3).

[4] Bh: ' "At the three set times practising the meditation of the bestowal of power, one arises" so it is said. The bestowal of power (*adhiṣṭhāna*) refers to the disposition of the divine forms (? *devatāvinyāsa*); the practice is meditation upon them, and this is the rite; "arising" implies remaining in union (with them). Then it refers to activity outside these set times and meditations with the words "being consubstantiated with the divinity"; this means the assurance of unity of enjoyment in the divine form with regard to all spheres of activity through possession of divine self-confidence in the acts of sitting, sleeping, eating and all the rest'—*thun gsum du byin gyis brlabs paḥi sgom pa rnam par bsgoms nas laṅs te źes bya ba la thun gsum du ste / byin gyis brlabs pa ni lha rnams su rnam par dgod paḥo / de rnams kyi sgom pa ni goms paḥo / deḥi sgom pa ni cho gaḥo / laṅs pa ni rnal ḥbyor gyis gnas paḥo / thun daṅ bsgom paḥi phyi rol gyi bya ba gsuṅs pa / lhaḥi źes bya ba la sogs pa la / lhaḥi gzugs ni ḥdug pa daṅ / za ba daṅ / ñal ba la sogs pa rnams su lhaḥi ṅa rgyal gyis yul rnams la lhaḥi gzugs su ñe bar loṅs spyod paḥi rnal ḥbyor gyi ṅes pa ñid do źes dgoṅs so /* (xv. 217*a* 5–7).

[5] For a translation of K's commentary on these verses see the Introduction, pp. 20–21.

[6] The text actually has *Vajrī*, but see *śloka* 6 below.

[7] These seven names fall into two groups. The first two belong to a larger set of eight feminine relatives, which will be found in full at II. v. 53. Their significance here is made clear below (I. v. 16–17). This is made more explicit by R who says that the Mother is one who always wishes you prosperity, that the Sister is one who is constant in her affection, and that they both bring prosperity to the Family of Vajrasattva—*Ma źes pa ni phan par ḥdod pa can no / srin mo źes pa ni byams pa brtan paḥo / de gñis ni rDo rje sems dpaḥi rigs la phan par byed paḥo* (xvii. 274*a* 5–6). The families of the other five buddhas are accounted for by Nartī and her companions (see diagram V). These are interpreted as representing the five senses with their objects. See K: p. 117, ll. 10–12.

(3) They must be served with circumspection that no disclosure come about. Through lack of secrecy misfortune will befall you, from snake or thief or fire or sprite.[1]

(4) In order that one may gain release, these Mudrā are identified with the Five Families. She is called Mudrā or Sign, because she is signed with the Vajra.

(5) Vajra, Padma, Karma, Tathāgata, Ratna; these are known as the Five Families supreme, O thou of great compassion. (6 and 7) These then are their five Mudrā: Ḍombī for Vajra, Nartī for Padma, Rajakī for Karma, Brāhmaṇī for Tathāgata, and Caṇḍālinī for Ratna. For shortness they are called the families of the *tathāgatas*. (8) He enters supreme reality, he the Blessed One, and comes just as he went, and so on account of this play on words, it 's as *Tathāgata* he 's known.

(9) These families are of six kinds, it 's taught, but abbreviated they are five. Then they may become three with the distinction of Body, Speech, and Mind.[2]

(10) These families correspond with the five elements and are identified with the five *skandhas*.[3] It is because they can be reckoned (*kul*) or counted that they are therefore known as *kula*.

(11) There is neither meditator, nor whatso'er to meditate; there is neither god nor *mantra*.

It is as (aspects of) the undifferentiated unity that god and *mantra* have their existence.

(12) This unity is known as Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amogha, Ratna, Ārolika,[4] and Sātvika, as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sarva, Vibuddha, and Tattva.[5]

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[1] These lines are interpreted differently by K: 'They (the senses that these goddesses symbolize) must be used with extreme care, so that no distinction, that is to say, so that no threefold dependence of sound, ear, hearing-consciousness, &c. shall come about' (p. 117, ll. 16–18). This seems scarcely the primary meaning, as the threats that follow the non-observance would not be suitable in this case. K shows his consciousness of this by inserting *sāṃsārikair duḥkhaiḥ*.

[2] Interesting are the names given by K to the six buddhas: *Citta* (*Akṣobhya*), *Śāśvata* (*Vairocana*), *Ratneśa* (*Ratnasambhava*), *Vāgīśa* (*Amitābha*), *Amogha* (*Amoghasiddhi*), and *Sātvika* (*Vajrasattva*). They become five by the omission of Vajrasattva, and three by the absorption of Amoghasiddhi into Vairocana, and Ratnasambhava into Amitābha. This leaves Akṣobhya (*citta*), Amitābha (*vāg*), and Vairocana (*kāya*) (Td xvi. 128*a*). This order of elimination corresponds with the historical seniority of the group. Vajrasattva was the last-comer; Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava are less substantial figures than the three first great ones who still hold their sway in China, Japan, and Tibet. Hevajra as was mentioned above (p. 60, fn. 3), is a manifestation of Akṣobhya, to whose family our whole *tantra* belongs. For an interesting and well-reasoned discussion of the origin of the five buddhas, see Paul Mus, *Borobuḍur*, ii. 1, part 6, ch. 1 'L'Origine des Cinq Jina'.

[3] For a discussion of these correspondences see the Introduction, pp. 29–31. This passage is corrupted in the manuscripts, but well vouched for by the Tibetan versions.

[4] *Ārolika*—a curious name for Amitātha. It belongs to a set of names of invocation with *Jinajik*, *Ratnadhṛk* (see PK p. 8). See also GS p. 6 and Tucci, *Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamāja*, *MCB* iii, pp. 339–53. KT translates the term as *ḥkhor ḥdas* (= *saṃsāra-*

[*footnotes 4, 5 cont. overleaf.*

(13) He is called Brahmā because he has gained *nirvāṇa* and enlightenment. Viṣṇu because he is all-pervading, Śiva because he is propitious, Sarva because he abides in all things, (14) Tattva because he experiences real bliss, and Vibuddha because he is aware of this happiness.

He becomes manifest in the body (*deha*) and he is therefore called the divinity (*devatā*). (15) Because he, as Buddha, possesses many blessings (*bhaga*), he is called most blessed (*bhagavat*). These blessings are six: lordliness, beauty, fame, wealth, wisdom, and great energy.[1] Or he may be called Bhagavat because he destroys (*bhañjanāt*) *Kleśamāra* and the others.

(16) *Prajñā* is called the Mother, because she gives birth to the world; and likewise the Sister (*bhaginī*) because she shows the apportionment (*vibhāga*).[2] (17) She is called Washerwoman or Daughter or Dancer: Washerwoman (*rajakī*)[3] because she tinges all beings (*rañjanāt*); Daughter (*duhitā*) because she yields good qualities (*duhanāt*); (18) Dancer because of her tremulous nature. She is called Ḍombī (outcast) because she is untouchable.

(19) Our speech is called uttering (*japa*) because it is the enunciation (*prajalpana*) of *āli* and *kāli*.[4]

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*nirvāṇa*). S says *rolika* means dispute, and that he is called Ārolika because in the condition of great passion, the nature of which is Joy and Supreme Joy, this does not exist—*rolika ni rtsod paḥo / de yaṅ mchog tu dgaḥ dgaḥ baḥi raṅ bźin ḥdod chags chen po la yod pa ma yin pas Ārolika go /* (xv. 150*b* 6–7). And later: because this undifferentiated unity is free of a disputing nature, it is called Ārolika (151*b* 3). This must be the correct interpretation. *Rolā* 'dissension' occurs below (II. iii. 6). *Ārolika* is thus a *vṛddhi* form of *arola* 'unrowdy'.

[5] S equates the buddhas with their six Brahmanical counterparts, associating the five with the five wisdoms:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Vairocana* | *Brahmā* | *ādarśajñāna* |
| *Amoghasiddhi* | *Śiva* | *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna* |
| *Akṣobhya* | *Viṣṇu* | *suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna* |
| *Ratnasambhava* | *Sarva* | *samatājñāna* |
| *Amitābha* | *Tattva* | *pratyavekṣaṇajñāna* |
| *Vajrasattva* | *Vibuddha* | *sahajānandamahāsukhapratīti** |

He defines *vibuddha* as special and noble buddha—*khyad par du ḥphags paḥi saṅs rgyas ni rnam par saṅs rgyas so /*

[1] R quotes these six in the following verses:

*dbaṅ phyug daṅ ni gzugs bzaṅ daṅ /*
*dpal daṅ grags daṅ ye śes daṅ /*
*brtson ḥgrus phun sum tshogs ldan pa /*
*drug po ḥdi la bcom źes bśad /* (xvii. 276*a* 5)

[2] K explains the apportionment as the apportionment of relative and absolute truth (*saṃvṛtiparamārthayor vibhāga*).

[3] One might equally well translate: she is called ravisher (*rajakī*) because she ravishes (*rañjanāt*) all beings.

[4] It was said above that there is no *mantra* (I. v. 11), and this is now explained in full. *Mantra* is speech, and this consists in essence of vowels (*āli*) and consonants (*kāli*), therefore *mantra*, like *āli/kāli*, is *tattva* and *nairātmya*, and exists only as the undifferentiated unity. So B and S interpret. K refers to the yoga-practice in which the vowels and consonants are imagined as passing through the nostrils. See Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, pp. 180–1.

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(* *dgaḥ ba ni lhan cig skyes paḥi bde ba chen po de rtogs pa*) (xv. 151*a* 1–5)

A *maṇḍala* is a foot-mark, and it is called *maṇḍala* because it arises from pressure (*malanāt*).[1]

(20) A gesture (*mudrā*) is an opening of the hand and the pressure of one finger upon another.

Our thought is our meditation, since meditation consists in thought.[2]

(21) The bliss that is found in the Father,[3] that bliss is enjoyed of oneself, and that bliss by which occurs the Slaying,[4] such bliss is said to be *dhyāna*.

## CHAPTER vi. THE PERFORMANCE

**a.** (1) Now we shall further tell of the practice so excellent and supreme, the cause of perfection by means of which one gains the finality of this perfection in Hevajra.

(2–3) The yogin must wear the sacred ear-rings, and the circlet on his head; on his wrists the bracelets, and the girdle round his waist, rings around his ankles, bangles round his arms; he wears the bone-necklace (4) and for his dress a tiger-skin, and his food must be the five ambrosias. He who practises the yoga of Heruka should frequent the five classes.[5] (5) These five classes that are associated together, he conceives of as one, for by him no distinction is made as between one class or many.

(6) Meditation is good if performed at night beneath a lonely tree or in a cemetery, or in the mother's house,[6] or in some unfrequented spot.

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[1] This verse scarcely helps in defining a *maṇḍala* and the commentators find difficulty in explaining its association with a footprint. K suggests that if one contracts the big toes one can make circles with the ball of one's feet—an irrelevant notion. Bh just says: *pāda* = *jñāna* (xv. 224*b* 7). R says that a *maṇḍala* may be briefly described as the pattern of a footprint which is made with dust and mud and water (xvii. 226*b* 2)—*rkaṅ pas bris pa źes pa ni rdul daṅ ḥdam daṅ chu la sogs pa la rkaṅ rjes kyi ri mo ni dkyil ḥkhor źes pa śin tu mdor sdud paḥo* / But see following note.

[2] S says *cintana* is ordinary thought, that *vicintana* refers to thought in terms of its absolute nature, and that this is *dhyāna*—*sems par byed pas bsams pa ste / de kho na ñid kyi tshul du rnam par sems par byed pa ste / de ñid bsam gtan no /* (xv. 152*b* 7).

These four, *japa*, *maṇḍala*, *mudrā*, and *dhyāna* are the substance of the yogin's technique for the gaining of that intuitive and indefinable realization which is his goal. As methods they have only a conventional (*saṃvṛti*) value, and their real existence is submerged in the final undifferentiated unity, which is the chief theme of this chapter. But there is another aspect of these four techniques which the commentators have missed, namely that for the perfected yogin (*siddha*), for whom all things are possible and for whom all things are in all, all speech is *mantra*, even a footprint is a *maṇḍala*, any gesture is a *mudrā*, and all thought is *dhyāna*. This interpretation is supported by I. vii. 26: 'Whatever movement of the limbs, whatever words flow forth, these are *mantra* and *mudrā* for him who occupies the place of *Śrī-Heruka*'.

[3] The Father is Vajradhara (K: p. 118, l. 36).

[4] Death is release; it is death because it is the end of those marks of ignorance which are mind and the product of mind (K: p. 119, ll. 4–5). See Introduction, p. 38.

[5] These are the five families referred to above, as represented by Nartī and the rest.

[6] According to S, the dwelling of Vaiṣṇavī and so on—*khyab ḥjug ma la sogs paḥi ma moḥi gnas* (xv. 154*a* 4); Bh is more precise: 'the house of a Mother is the place where there are statues of the seven mother-goddesses, Brāhmī, Śivā and so on'—*ma moḥi khyim źes bya ba ni tshaṅs ma daṅ / drag mo la sogs pa ma mo bdun po de rnams kyi gzugs brñan de dag gaṅ du gnas pa de ni ma moḥi khyim mo /*.

(7) When some heat has been developed,[1] if one wishes to perform this practice and to gain perfection, then upon this course one should proceed. (8–9) Take a girl of the Vajra-family, fair-featured and large-eyed and endowed with youth and beauty, who has been consecrated by oneself[2] and is possessed of a compassionate disposition, and with her the practice should be performed. In the absence of one from the Vajra-family, it should be performed with a girl from the family of one's special divinity, or (if this fails) from some other. Take her then who is now consecrated with the depositing of the seed of enlightenment.

(10) If in joy songs are sung, then let them be the excellent Vajra-songs,[3] and if one dances when joy has arisen, let it be done with release as its object. Then the yogin, self-collected, performs the dance in the place of Hevajra.[4]

(11) Akṣobhya is symbolized by the circlet, Amitābha by the ear-rings, Ratneśa by the necklace, and Vairocana (by the rings) upon the wrists. (12) Amogha is symbolized by the girdle, Wisdom by the *khaṭvāṅga* and Means by the drum, while the yogin represents the Wrathful One himself. (13) Song symbolizes *mantra*, dance symbolizes meditation, and so singing and dancing the yogin always acts. (14) He should always eat herbs and drink water, then old age and death will not harm him and he will always be protected.

(15) Now he, whose nature is HŪṂ (viz. Hevajra), should arrange his

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[1] 'Heat'—generally interpreted as power (*prabhāva—mthu* or *nus pa*), gained from meditation and incantation. So K (p. 119, l. 27), S (xv. 154*b* 1), Bh (xv. 227*a* 7) and R (xvii. 278*a* 3). According to V it is a first stage, presumably of trance, associated with the appearance of things as smoke and as mirage—*gal te spyod pa byed ḥdod pa / yan lag drug sbyor gaṅ yin te / du ba smig rgyu la sogs paḥi / drod ni daṅ por bskyed par bya /* (quoted from the *Mūlatantra* xv. 56*b* 6). In this respect see *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, p. 195. It is also possible that the use of this term is to be associated with the first of the four states leading to Enlightenment: *uṣmagata*, *mūrdha*, *kṣānti*, and *laukikāgradharma*, which are known from Yogācāra works. For references see Obermiller, *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, fasc. 1, p. 58.

[2] 'Consecrated by oneself'. According to Bh she is to be given instruction about all her own *dharmas—raṅ ñid kyi chos thams cad kyi man ṅag de la sbyin la byaḥo*—or as she is of the same nature as the yogin, he embraces her and she becomes the recipient of that consecration that is purificatory in its effect—*sgrub pa poḥi raṅ gi bdag ñid du gyur bas ḥkhyud ciṅ dbaṅ bskur ba ni khrus byed pa daṅ ldan paḥo* (xv. 227*b* 5). The compassionate disposition of which she is possessed, he defines as the basis for the producing of *siddhi*. If this compassion is feeble, it will not be produced—*sñiṅ rje de ni dṅos grub tu ḥgyur baḥi rtsa baḥo / . . . de yaṅ sñiṅ rje dman na ḥgrub mi ḥgyur źes pa ḥdi ñid kyi ṅag las so /* (id. *b* 6).

[3] S: 'songs should be sung with *vajra*-words, not the songs of ordinary folk'—*rdo rjeḥi tshig daṅ ldan pa ñid kyis glu blaṅ bar bya ste / groṅ gi glus bya ba yaṅ ma yin no /* (xv. 154*b* 5). So also Bh, who adds that the yogin should not have a liking for the dances of simple people, the fixed intention of which is to captivate and so on, for his dancing has release as its object—*so soḥi skye boḥi gar rnams ni gzuṅ ba la sogs paḥi mṅon par źen pa de rnams rnal ḥbyor pas ni de la mṅon źen pa med pa ste / de bas na gar gyi bya ba ni thar paḥi rgyur gyur pa yin no* (xv. 228*a* 7–*b* 1).

[4] *Vajrapada* is elaborated by K and other commentators to refer to the various postures associated with Hevajra, and which the yogin, now identified with him, may be said to assume.

piled-up hair[1] as a crest and for the performance of the yoga he should wear the skull-tiara, representing the five buddhas.[2] (16) Making pieces of skull five inches long, he should secure them to the crest. He should wear the two-stranded cord of hair, that symbolizes Wisdom and Means, the ashes and the sacred thread of hair; (17) the sound of the drum is his invocation, and the *khaṭvāṅga* of Wisdom is his meditation.[3] It is this that is intoned and meditated in the practice of Vajra and Skull.

**b.** (18) He should abandon desire and folly, fear and anger, and any sense of shame. He should forgo sleep and uproot the notion of a self, and then the practice may be performed, there is no doubt. (19) Only when he has made an offering of his own body,[4] should he commence the practice. Nor should he make this gift with the consideration of who is worthy and who is not. (20–21) Enjoying food and drink he should take it as it comes, making no distinction between that which is liked or disliked, eatable or uneatable, drinkable or undrinkable. Nor should he ever wonder whether a thing is suitable or unsuitable.

(22) Even when he has attained to *siddhi* and is resplendent in his perfect knowledge, a disciple respectfully greets his master, if he wishes to avoid the *Avīci* Hell.

(23) Free from learning and ceremony and any cause of shame, the yogin wanders, filled with great compassion in his possession of a nature that is common to all beings. (24) He has passed beyond oblations, renunciation, and austerities, and is freed from *mantra* and meditation. Released from all the conventions of meditation,[5] the yogin performs the practice.

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[1] This is certainly the intended meaning (i.e. *cauḍakeśa*) and is thus interpreted by K. Nevertheless the only reading both in manuscripts and in the Tibetan versions is *caurya*, of which no one gives an intelligible account. V says it is a coronet made into a symbol from grass—*rkun maḥi skra ces bya baḥi rtsa las cod pan du brdaḥ bya ba* (xv. 58*a* 1).

[2] Concerning these tiaras, see *I-T* iii. 1, pp. 79–80, although there is here no reference to their being made of skull.

[3] According to V, the double-stranded girdle of human hair is for subduing the self-confident gods of this world (*laukikadevatā*); his body is smeared with ashes because of the vow of Śiva; the Brahmanic thread of human hair is for the sake of the Brahmanic vow; he holds the drum because of the acme of divine joy; he holds the *khaṭvāṅga* because it is the sign of victory (*dhvaja*) of Śiva, and with the skull-pieces he holds the *vajra*-skull because of the vow—*ḥjig rten paḥi lha ṅa rgyal can rnams gdul bar bya baḥi don du / mi roḥi skraḥi ske rags gñis bskor daṅ / dbaṅ phyug chen poḥi brtul źugs kyi ched du thal bas lus la byugs pa daṅ / tshaṅs paḥi brtul źugs kyi ched du mi roḥi skraḥi tshaṅ skud daṅ / lha rnams kyi dgaḥ baḥi rtse moḥi ched du caṅ teḥu gzuṅ ba daṅ / dbaṅ phyug chen poḥi rgyal mtshan gyi ched du keṅ rus gzuṅ ba daṅ / thod paḥi dum bus brtul źugs kyi ched du rdo rjeḥi thod pa bzuṅ bar bya ba ste /* (xv. 58*a* 4–5). The interpretation of *vajra*-skull is unsatisfactory. S equates it with Hevajra, and says it is his practice—*rdo rje thod pa ni Kyeḥi rdo rje ste deḥi spyod pas so* (xv. 150*a* 3). This is the required sense. The two terms refer to the two basic principles, *Prajñā/Upāya*, *āli/kāli*, &c. So here *Kapāla/Vajra*.

[4] See p. 56, fn. 1.

[5] *Samaya* refers to externalized conventional usages, the *maṇḍala* with its divinities, and their symbols and syllables, and *saṃvara* to the conventional forms envisaged within the body; see these terms in the Glossary.

(25) Whatever demon should appear before him, even though it be the peer of Indra, he would have no fear, for he wanders like a lion.

(26) For the good of all beings, his drink is always compassion, for the yogin who delights in the drink of yoga, becomes drunk with no other drink.

## CHAPTER vii. SECRET SIGNS

**a.** (1) Now we shall expound the chapter on secret signs,[1] by which the (right) yogin and yoginī may be recognized with certainty.

(2) Whoever shows one finger, implies: Am I welcome?[2]

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[1] Secret signs—*chomā* (tib.: *brda*—sign), glossed by K as *milicchā* (tib.: *kla klo gyi skad*—barbarian language). These terms serve but to emphasize the non-brahmanical origin of these practices. According to V: 'These signs are to be known as being of two kinds, even as it is said in the *Mūlatantra*: The practiser of *Heruka-yoga* learns the bodily signs and the verbal signs, for if he does not express himself with these bodily and verbal signs, he will come to grief even though he be a buddha. (Compare II. v. 65–67, where this warning is given after the list of verbal signs.) So the yogins and yoginīs who practise the *Hevajra-yoga* must make effort to remember these signs of body and speech, so that in the company of malicious outsiders and male and female messengers from other families (other than the *Vajrakula*) one need not converse in the terms of ordinary speech, but we shall speak of the great mystery by means of signs and these malicious outsiders and wanderers will be bewildered. In this chapter only bodily signs are explained, and the verbal signs in another (see p. 99)'. *brdaḥ ni rnam pa gñis su go ba bya ste / de yaṅ ji skad du / rtsaḥi rgyud las Heruka ldan rnal ḥbyor gyis / lus daṅ ṅag gi brdaḥ la bslab / lus ṅag brdaḥ yis mi smra na / saṅs rgyas kyaṅ ni ṅes par ḥjig / ces gsuṅs te / de bas na deḥi phyir / Kyeḥi rDorjeḥi rnal ḥbyor la gnas paḥi rnal ḥbyor pa daṅ rnal ḥbyor ma rnams kyi⟨s⟩ lus ṅag gi brdaḥi man ṅag ḥbad pas yid la gzuṅ ste / phyi rol gyi skye bo mi srun pa rnams daṅ rigs gźan gyi pho ña daṅ pho ña ma rnams tshogs paḥi naṅ du tha mal paḥi tha sñad kyis brjod par mi byaḥi / bdag cag rnams kyis gsaṅ chen gaṅ yin pa de brdas brjod pa na skye bo ma ruṅs pa daṅ phyi rol gyi pho ña daṅ pho ña ma rnams rmoṅs par ḥgyur ro / . . . leḥu ḥdir ni lus kyi brda ḥbaḥ źig ston la ṅag gi brda ni leḥu gźan nas ston par ḥgyur ro /* (xv. 59b 3–7). Bh adds to this information by telling us that: Practising yogins who wander about among the *pīṭha* and *kṣetra* (see below) looking for proficient yoginīs, should give these signs so that they may know which among the yoginīs are in possession of the necessary tenets which accord with their own, and so that they may arouse in these a condition of mutual responsiveness—*Da ni spyod paḥi rnal ḥbyor pa rnams kyi⟨s⟩ ḥgrub paḥi rnal ḥbyor ma rnams blta baḥi don du / gnas daṅ źiṅ la sogs pa rnams su bgrod ciṅ / de rnams las mṅon par ḥdod paḥi grub paḥi mthaḥ bdag daṅ ḥbrel ba [las] rtogs paḥi phyir daṅ / de rnams daṅ bdag mñam źiṅ ḥdra bar bskyed paḥi don du de dag brda ster bar rigs so* (xv. 231b 4–5).

[2] K, V, and D attempt a detailed interpretation of these signs, but there is absence of agreement. K does not even trouble to preserve the questions and answers which are essential to their nature and interprets as though it were an account of the granting of initiations by master to pupil. I quote V's account as being the best of the three, but it is probably as arbitrary as the others: Now 'whoever shows one finger', that is to say, if any man or woman suddenly appears before one and shows one finger, it is to be understood as meaning: 'Am I welcome?' Likewise, 'by two you are welcome', means that by stretching forth two fingers in reply, such a one is welcome. Further, 'by pressure from the left thumb one should know the sign for well-being', that is to say, you should know the sign for asking someone about his well-being: 'Are you happy in body, speech and mind?'

'Whoever shows the fourth finger'—this is the part of *Upāya* (the yogin), 'to him one should present the little finger'—this is the part of *Prajñā* (the yoginī), and by this one should know Air and Fire as distinguished above and below.

'Whoever shows the middle finger, to him one should present the second finger', and by this likewise one should know Water and Earth with the distinction of above and below.

So these are signs of Void and Compassion, conceived as external and internal. Thus

The showing of two implies he is welcome.
The sign of well-being may be known from pressure with the left thumb.
(3) If he presents the fourth finger, he should be shown the little finger.
If he presents the middle finger, he should be shown the second finger.
(4) If he shows the fourth finger, one should indicate to him the neck.
If he shows a painting, one should show him a trident.
(5) If he indicates the breasts, one should indicate the parting of the hair.
If he indicates the earth, one should indicate the mouth.
(6) If he indicates the eyebrow, one should indicate the loosening of one's crest of hair.
If he indicates the forehead, one should indicate the back.
(7) If he indicates the sole of the foot, one should dance with joy.

in the *Ādibuddhatantra* it is said: 'To east and west are Earth and Air, which mutually are Means and Wisdom; to south and north are Fire and Water, which mutually are Means and Wisdom.'

'Whoever shows the fourth finger, to him one should indicate the neck', and this asks the question: 'Do you know the truth (*dharma*) which is like the expanse of the sky?', and in reply one indicates the neck, for the circle of the throat is the place where are tasted the six savours, and by means of these the veins develop, and so by this one indicates the truth that is like the sky.

'Whoever shows the canvas, to him one should show the trident'—to the question: 'Do you know the characteristics of the guardian divinity?', there is the answer: 'Yes, I know; I know the essence of the three veins which have the nature of Body, Speech, and Mind.'

'Whoever indicates the breasts, to him one should indicate the parting', which means: 'If we obtained a treatise on dancing, would you know it?', to which there is the answer: 'I know it, and I know the bliss that arises from the action of the two *indriyas*.'

'Whoever points to the earth, to him one should indicate the mouth', and this implies the question: 'Do you know the essence of Wisdom?', to which is the answer: 'Yes I know it; it is possessed of Wisdom and Means.'

'Whoever shows the eyebrow, to him one should indicate the loosening of one's crest of hair', and this means: 'Very well, you and I shall perform the parts of Means and Wisdom', to which there is the reply: 'There is no fear, we shall so perform.'

'Whoever shows the forehead, to him one should show the back', which means: 'Do you know that place of the *Ḍākinīs*, the foremost one of the body, which is in the head?', and to this there is the answer: 'Yes, I know it; but apart from the head, there are places of the *Ḍākinīs* in the rest of the body as well, in the back and so on.' (These places will be mentioned below.)

'Whoever shows the sole of the foot (in reply) one dances with joy.' This asks the question: 'How shall we go to those places?', to which there is the reply: 'First the treatise on dancing, and then by entering into complete tranquillity with one's mind possessed of attachment, in this way we will go to those places.'

This translation is literal, but in spite of a certain obscurity, most of which will become clear below, it provides a satisfactory interpretation of these signs, marking clearly the stages from the first meeting to the decision to unite in the ritual. My translation presumes that the yogin poses the question in every case. This is clearly stated to be so by V in the case of the third question, and implied generally by the fact that it is the yogin who is looking for a suitable yoginī, and not the reverse. Nevertheless MS. A in several cases implies otherwise by reading *tasyāḥ* instead of *tasya*, 'to her' instead of 'to him'. (The Tibetan versions have everywhere *de yi*, which could mean either.) But since no commentary provides an interpretation that takes this distinction into account, and since Bh and K read *tasya* in all cases, I have adhered to this reading.

*De la gaṅ źig sor mo gcig ston pa źes bya ba ni skyes pa ḥam bud med gaṅ źig gis blo bur du mdun du ḥoṅ pa la sor mo gcig ston pa deḥi tshe | legs par ḥoṅs sam źes dri baḥi don du*

So one explains things conventionally by means of sign and countersign.

(8) Then the yoginīs say: 'Well done, O Son, thou of great compassion.'

If they show wreaths in their hands, they are signifying that you should come together in that place; (9) motioning forward with their wreaths (they mean to say) 'O True One, stay at this ceremony and take part'. So there at that meeting-place, abiding within that sacred orbit, he should do whatever the yoginīs say.

**b.** (10) Vajragarbha said: 'What, O Lord, are these places of meeting?'

The Lord replied: 'They are the *pīṭha* and the *upapīṭha*, the *kṣetra* and the *upakṣetra*, the *chandoha* and the *upachandoha*, the *melāpaka* and the *upamelāpaka*, the *pīlava* and the *upapīlava*, the *śmaśāna* and the *upaśmaśāna*.[1] (11) These correspond with the twelve stages of a Bodhisattva. It

*rtogs par byaḥo | de bźin du gñis kyis legs par ḥoṅs pa yin źes pa ni lan du sor mo gñis brkyaṅ bas bde bar yoṅs so źes bstan par byaḥo | gźan yaṅ g'yon gyi mthe boṅ bcaṅs pas ni | bsñun gyi phyag rgyar rnam par śes | śes bya ste gaṅ źig la bsñun ḥdri baḥi brdar śes par bya ste | lus ṅag yid gsum bde ḥam źes bya baḥi don to | gaṅ źig srin lag ster ba la źes pa ni thabs kyi cha yin la | de yi mthe chuṅ rnam par sbyin źes bya ba ni śes rab kyi cha ste steṅ ḥog gi bye brag gis rluṅ daṅ me ru rtogs par byaḥo | gaṅ źig guṅ mo ston pa la | de yi ḥdzub mo rnam par sbyin źes pa ni de bźin du steṅ ḥog gi cha chu daṅ sa rtogs par byed pa yin la | de bas de dag rnams kyaṅ phyi daṅ naṅ gi stoṅ pa daṅ sñiṅ rjeḥi brda ñid yin no | gaṅ de ni dpal mchog di daṅ poḥi saṅs rgyas kyi rgyud ces bya ba las kyaṅ ji skad du |*

*śar daṅ nub tu sa daṅ rluṅ | phan tshun thabs daṅ śes rab yin |*
*lho daṅ byaṅ du me daṅ chu | phan tshun thabs daṅ śes rab yin |*

*źes . . . gsuṅs so | gaṅ źig miṅ med ston pa la | de yi mgrin pa rab tu bstan | źes pa ni nam mkhaḥ lta buḥi chos śes sam źes ḥdri ba la | deḥi lan du mgrin pa bstan par bya ba ni ro drug la loṅs spyod paḥi lam mgrin paḥi ḥkhor lo yin te | deḥi stobs kyis rtsa rnams rgyas par ḥgyur la | des nam mkhaḥ lta buḥi chos ston par ḥgyur źes bya baḥi don bstan to | gaṅ źig gos ni ston pa la | de yi rtse gsum rab tu bstan źes bya ba ni | skyob pa mtshan ñid śes sam źes ḥdri ba la | lan du ṅa yis śes te lus ṅag yid gsum gyi bdag ñid rtsa gsum gyi raṅ bźin śes naḥo źes bya baḥi don no | gaṅ źig nu ma ston pa la de yi mtshams ni rab tu bstan źes bya ba ni | de ñid gar gyi bstan bcos kyis* thob pa yin na | de śes sam źes ḥdri ba la | lan du ṅa yis śes te dbaṅ po gñis sprad paḥi bde ba rtogs źes bya baḥi don to | gaṅ źig so ni ston pa la | de yi kha ni rab tu bstan | źes bya ba ni śes rab kyi raṅ bźin śes sam źes ḥdri ba la | lan du ṅa yis śes te thabs daṅ śes rab ldan naḥo źes paḥi don to | gaṅ źig khro gñer ston pa la | gtsug pud dgrol pa bstan par bya | źes pa ni | ḥo na khyod daṅ ṅa gñis thabs daṅ śes rab kyi raṅ bźin la rtsod do† źes zer ba la | lan du ḥjigs pa med de brtsad par byaḥo źes bya baḥi don to | gaṅ źig dpral ba ston pa la | de yi rgyab ni rab tu bstan | źes bya ba ni | gaṅ mkhaḥ ḥgro ma rnams kyi gnas lus kyi mchog mgo la yod na de khyod kyis śes sam źes ḥdri ba la | lan du ṅa yis śes te mgo bo las gźan rgyab la sogs pa lus gźan la yaṅ mkhaḥ ḥgro maḥi gnas yod ces bya baḥi don to | gaṅ gis rkaṅ mthil ston pa la | lto yis rnam par rtse bar bya | źes pa ni | ḥo na gnas de dag tu ji ltar bgrod par bya źes ḥdri ba la | lan du gar gyi bstan bcos sṅon du ḥgro bas chags pa daṅ ldan paḥi sems kyis sñoms par źugs nas gnas de rnams su phyin par ḥgyur źes paḥi don to |* (xv. 60*a* 2–*b* 7).

[1] These are the different kinds of places of pilgrimage, some of which are known as 'seats' (*pīṭha*), some as 'fields' (*kṣetra*), some as 'meeting-places' (*melāpaka*), and some as cemeteries (*śmaśāna*). As for *chandoha* and *pīlava*, I have no ready translation. The Tibetan transliterates the former and translates the latter as *ḥthuṅ-gcod* 'drink and cut' as though *pīlava* were derived from *pī* 'drink' and *lava* 'cutting'). See *The Blue Annals*,

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* *kyis* makes the phrase unintelligible unless there is a pronoun missing before it, perhaps *khyod kyis*.

† *rtsod* with secondary root *brtsad* normally means 'to contend'. It here has the meaning of *rtsed* 'to play', with which word I presume it to be cognate.

is because of these that he receives the title of Lord of the Ten Stages and as Guardian Lord.'[1]

(12) Vajragarbha said: 'What are these *pīṭhas* and the rest?'[2]

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Roerich, pp. 980 and 983, for an attempt to make some forced sense of an absurd translation. It is rare indeed that the Tibetans err in this manner. D gives an attempted explanation of these terms:

It is called 'seat' because one always stays there and performs the practice, also because the yogins stay there.

Because it is near to that place, it is called 'near-by seat' (*upapīṭha*).

It is called 'field', because it produces good qualities, also because the mother-goddesses stay there.

Because it is near to there, it is called 'near-by field'.

Because one desires and yearns, it is called *Chando*.

Because it is near to there, it is called 'near-by *Chando*'.

It is called 'meeting-place', because it is the site of a place, Magadha and Aṅgamagadha.

It is called 'near-by meeting-place' because it is near there.

It is called *pilava*, because there are no obstructions.

It is called 'near-by *pilava*' because it is near to there.

It is called 'cemetery' because no discriminating thought (*vikalpa*) arises and because there are many corpses.

It is called 'near-by cemetery', because it is near to there.

*rtag tu gnas śiṅ spyod pas na gnas śes byaḥo | yaṅ rnal ḥbyor pa bźugs pas na yaṅ gnas śes byaḥo | de daṅ ñe bas ñe baḥi gnas śes byaḥo | yon tan skyed par byed pas na źiṅ yaṅ ma rnams gnas pas na źiṅ źes byaḥo | de daṅ ñe bas ñe baḥi źiṅ ṅo | ḥdod ciṅ ḥdun pas na tshando | de daṅ ñe bas na ñe baḥi tshando | magadha daṅ aṅgamagadha ni gnas kyi gźi po yin te ḥdu ba źes byaḥo | de daṅ ñe bas ñe baḥi ḥdu baḥo | . . . bar chad med pas na ḥthuṅ gcod | de daṅ ñe ba ni ñe baḥi ḥthuṅ gcod | rnam par rtog pa mi ḥbyuṅ ba daṅ ro maṅ po gnas pas dur khrod do | de daṅ ñe ba ñe baḥi dur khrod do |* (xvii. 365*b* 2–5).

[1] These twelve kinds of place are said to correspond with the twelve *bhūmis*, which are here listed in all the commentaries. But it is from the *bhūmis*, not from the *pīṭhas*, &c., that the *bodhisattva* gets his name of Lord of the Ten *Bhūmis*. I would prefer to translate: 'It is from these that the Protector is known as Lord of the Ten *Bhūmis*', but all the commentators, aware of the discrepancy between the twelve *bhūmis* just listed, and the ten referred to in the title, separate the two names, applying the ten to the Bodhisattva, and the remainder to the Protector, the Buddha. They even add a thirteenth, the Vajradharabhūmi, which the ordinary Mahāyānists (*pha rol tu phyin pa ba*) do not reach (D: xvii. 366*a* 4).

[2] According to S and D there should be thirty-two places here listed, but none of the commentators helps in arranging a satisfactory list. K (p. 122, l. 17) and R (xvii. 280*a* 2–3) define the 'city' as Pāṭaliputra, but give no other helpful information. Their explanation of *tatsanniveṣaṃ* would be meaningless without the full quotation from D, given just above. But the list is clearly unsatisfactory, since from here onwards no further names are given, except perhaps for *pretasaṃhāta*, which may be intended for Pretapuri. They are not interested in these places in the world without. 'These places, Jālandhara and so on, are mentioned for the benefit of simple fools who wander about the country' (N. xvii. 111*b* 2). They are therefore interpreted as symbols for the places within the body, that is to say, they are the external equivalent of that which exists within. According to V, 'externally these are places in the world without, where dwell those goddesses who run after flesh and blood and so keep to the towns, but internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them'—*phyi rol tu ni śa daṅ khrag la rgyug par byed pa groṅ la brten paḥi lha mo rnams ni phyi gnas de dag na gnas pa yin la | . . . | naṅ gi gnas ni lus la rtsaḥi gzugs kyis gnas par gsuṅs te de las gźan du mi bltaḥo |* (xv. 61*b* 3–4). See also S: 'As for these places Jālandhara and so on, they are the thirty-two places, the head and top of the head and so on; Abhedyā and the other (31) *yoginīs* come together in the 12 meeting-places, viz., *bhūmis*.' —*gnas ni Dzālandharar gsuṅs źes bya ba la sogs pa la | gnas ḥdi rnams kyaṅ sum cu tsa gñis te | mgo bo daṅ spyi gtsug la sogs paḥo | mi phyed ma la sogs pa rnal ḥbyor ma rnams te | de bsdus śiṅ ñe bar bsdus pas ḥdus pa ni sa bcu gñis rnams suḥo |* (xv. 156*b* 1–2). It is here that the confusion exists which explains the unsatisfactory nature of the list of places in the main text,

The Lord replied:

'The *pīṭhas* are Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Paurṇagiri, and Kāmarūpa;

(13) The *upapīṭhas* are Mālava, Sindhu, and Nagara.

The *kṣetras* are Munmuni, Kāruṇyapāṭaka, Devīkoṭa, and Karmārapāṭaka.

(14) The *upakṣetras* are Kulatā, Arbuda, Godāvarī, and Himādri.

(15) The *chandohas* are Harikela, arising in the salt-ocean, Lampāka, Kāñcika, and Saurāṣṭra.

(16) The *upachandohas* are Kaliṅga, the Isle of Gold and Kokaṇa which is called *upachandoha* for short.

(17) The *pīlavas* comprise that which lies on the village boundary, and that belonging to the city, Caritra, Kośala, and Vindhyākaumārapaurikā.

The *upapīlava* is nearby to that, O Vajragarbha of great compassion.

(18) The *śmaśānas* are where the pretas meet and the ocean's shore.

The *upaśmaśānas* are the garden and the shore of the lotus-pool.

**c.** (19) The day too I will tell you when the yoginīs meet together, for the purpose of the welfare of all beings in the Yoginī-tantra of Hevajra.'

for whereas there are 32 veins, 'Indivisible' and the others (see I. i. 16–19), the parts of the body, commencing head and top of the head, belong to a set of 24. D is aware of this, but still wishes to run them together: 'the twelve kinds of place listed above, are listed in full below as the 32 countries of Jambudvīpa; internally these are associated with the 24 parts of the body and with the 32 veins'—*phyi ltar bśad pa ni goṅ gi bcu gñis po de ḥdzam buḥi gliṅ gi yul sum cu rtsa gñis su ḥog na rgyas par ḥched do | naṅ ltar bśad pa ni lus kyi gnas ñi śu rtsa bźi la sbyar ba daṅ rtsa sum cu rtsa gñis su sbyar te*—(xvii. 365*b* 7–366*a* 1). In fact in our text only 24, and not 32 places in Jambudvīpa are named; the other six are made up by such terms as village-boundary, ocean-shore, and so on. Elsewhere only 24 places are known. One of the verses of Saraha runs: 'I have visited in my wandering *kṣetra* and *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha*, for I have not seen another place of pilgrimage blissful like my own body.' (*Kṣetra*, &c. are here intended figuratively as our own commentators would understand them.) Advayavajra in his commentary says: 'All these *kṣetra* and *upakṣetras*, &c. are the 24 localities' (Bagchi, *Dohākoṣa*, p. 113). But most important of all for this whole subject see Tucci, *I-T* iii. 2, pp. 38–45. He there quotes the complete list of 24 places with the 24 equivalent parts of the body. These latter correspond with the list quoted by N at xvii. 112*a* 1 (except for one omission). V's list (xv. 61*b* 5) is more disordered but is basically the same. As for the place-names 19 of ours correspond with Tucci's list. The *Hevajra-tantra* presents us with an unsystematized attempt to allocate 24 places to the 12 kinds of place of pilgrimage, and the carelessness with which it is done enables the commentators to assume that there are 32 places on the analogy of the 32 veins. Nevertheless they remain aware of the relationship between the external places and the 24 places in the body and ignore the resulting contradiction.

Of the places listed in the *Hevajra-tantra* the 19 corresponding with those in *I-T* are: Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Paurṇagiri (= Pullira Malaya), Kāmarūpa, Mālava, Sindhu, Nagara, Devīkoṭa, Kulatā, Arbuda, Himādri, Lampāka, Kāñcika, Saurāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, the Isle of Gold, Kośala, Godāvarī and possibly Pretasaṃhāta (for Pretapuri). Those that remain are Munmuni, Karmārapāṭaka, Kāruṇyapāṭaka, Harikela, Kokaṇa, Caritra, and Vindhyākaumārapaurikā (if this last is not an epithet). This produces twenty-six names, but of these *pretasaṃhāta* figures in the text not as a place-name (in spite of the possible correspondence with Pretapuri) but as a description of *śmaśāna*, while the last appears rather to be an epithet as I suggest. Even Kokaṇa has doubt cast upon it by the suggestion that is an alternative name for the term *upacchandoha*: 'and Kokaṇa is called *upacchandoha* for short'.

(20) Vajragarbha said: 'Lord, which are those days?'

The Lord replied: 'The fourteenth and the eighth days in the dark fortnight.

**d.** (21) A man who has been hanged, a warrior killed on the field of battle, and a man of irreproachable conduct who has returned seven times to human state, of the flesh of these one should partake.[1]

[1] V: 'A *dhvaja* (banner) is the corpse of any man or woman who has been a thief or something else, and who having been punished by the king, has had his or her body rent by a sword and hung on a gallows. A *saptāvarta* (seven times) is any man or woman who has transmigrated in human form throughout seven lives. Their characteristics are these: they appear with seven shadows, their eyes are unflinching, there are three creases on their foreheads, their bodies emit a pleasing odour, and so on. If you see such a one, offer him flowers in salutation, circumambulate him and address him thus: "O Great Lord of Yogins, the time has come to act for the good of such as us." If you address him thus he will surrender his life. As soon as he has surrendered it, you should make of his flesh pellets as big as the kernel of a juniper berry (?), saying, "We all will eat these, and you shall apportion to all beings even as to yourself", and he will grant the *siddhi* of activity throughout space. Then having washed and compounded the ordinary flesh, that of the hanging corpse and the slain-in-battle, make it into pellets and eat it, and you will make an end of wrinkles and white hair. The figurative meaning of this is given in the *Mūlatantra*: "This excellent *dhvaja* which is the body, cleansed from the veins which are figured by the gallows, consumes the flesh which is the *bodhicitta*, and the yogin gains supreme perfection."

As for the figurative meaning of the *saptāvarta* it is said: "Of all embodied beings this body represents seven births, for from the eating and drinking of food and drink with their six flavours, these are digested and nourishment increases. This is called the first birth. Then blood is formed and this is the second birth. Then flesh which is the third, skin which is the fourth, the formation of veins which is the fifth, then bones which is the sixth, then fat and marrow, and this is the seventh."'

*rgyal mtshan ni rgyal pos rkun po la sogs pa skyes pa ḥam bud med ḥgaḥ źig chad pas bcad de lus mtshon gyis dral nas ro śiṅ la dpyaṅs te bźag paḥo | lan bdun pa ni ḥdi na skyes pa ḥam bud med ḥgaḥ źig skye ba bdun du miḥi lus su brgyud pa yin la | deḥi mtshan ñid kyaṅ grib ma bdun du ḥbyuṅ ba daṅ | mig mi ḥdzums pa daṅ | dpral ba la gñer ma gsum yod pa daṅ | lus la dri źim po ḥbyuṅ ba la sogs pa ñid yin te de ltar mthoṅ na phyag tu me tog dag phul te bskor ba byas la ḥdi skad ces rnal ḥbyor gyi dbaṅ phyug chen po de ni bdag cag lta buḥi don bgyi baḥi dus la bab bo źes brjod pa na deḥi lus ḥdor bar ḥgyur ro | de dor nas kyaṅ deḥi śa la rgya śug gi tshig gu rtsam gyi ri lu byas te | bdag cag thams cad kyis bzaḥ bar bya źiṅ sems can thams cad la khyed tshad du bgo bar byaḥo | des ni nam mkhaḥ la spyod paḥi dṅos grub ster ba yin no | de bźin śa phal pa rgyal mtshan mtshon daṅ bsnun pa la sogs paḥi śa ni sbyaṅ ba daṅ spel ba la sogs pa byas la ril bur byas te zos pas kyaṅ gñer ma daṅ skra dkar pa sogs pa ḥjoms par ṅes so | ḥdi dag gi ṅes paḥi don yaṅ ḥbum phrag lṅa pa las | ji skad du |*

*rtsa yi śiṅ gzugs las sbyaṅs paḥi |*
*lus kyi rgyal mtshan mchog ḥdi yis |*
*byaṅ chub sems kyi śa zos na |*
*rnal ḥbyor dṅos grub mchog tu ḥgyur*

*źes gsuṅs te | lan bdun pa yi ṅes paḥi don ni ji skad du |*

*gaṅ yaṅ lus can thams cad kyi |*
*lus ḥdi skye ba bdun yin te |*
*ro drug ldan paḥi bzaḥ btuṅ dag |*
*kun tu zos śiṅ ḥthuṅs pa las |*
*źu źiṅ bcud ni rgyas pa de |*
*skye ba daṅ po de brjod do |*
*de nas de las khrag ḥbyuṅ ba |*
*skye ba gñis pa rab tu brjod |*
*de las śa byuṅ gsum pa ste |*
*pags par gyur pa bźi pa daṅ |*
*rtsa ru gyur pa lṅa paḥo |*
*de las rus pa drug pa ste |*
*źag daṅ rkaṅ mar bdun paḥo | źes sṅon du brjod do |* (xv. 62*a* 7–*b* 7).

[*footnote cont. overleaf.*

**e.** The act of slaying[1] is performed, accompanied by the strenuous arousing of compassion. (22) Without compassion one cannot succeed, and so one should arouse compassion. By this best of methods the activity of evil is stopped.[2]

**f.** (23) In this manner one should regard things:

The day is the Adamantine Lord, and *Prajñā* is the night.

(24) There exists nothing one may not do and nothing one may not eat.
There is nothing one may not think or say, either pleasant or unpleasant.

(25) The Supreme Self (*ahaṃ*) exists in oneself just as in other beings and (as in other beings) so in oneself.[3]

Conceiving thus, the yogin should approach food and drink and other things. (26) Whatever movement of his limbs, whatever pouring forth of words, these are as *mantra* and *mudrā* for him who holds the place of Śrī Heruka.

(27) ŚRĪ implies monistic knowledge,
HE the voidness of causality,
RU the end of discriminating thought,
KA its indeterminability.

(28) Those beings, whose flesh is eaten by knowing yogins, are subdued to their power by the yoga of *vajra* and skull.[4]

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K interprets figuratively: *dhvaja* is thought with an object for its activity, and this is cut down by the sword of wisdom (*śastrahata*), and so the yogin consumes, that is to say, renders free from any notion of self-existence, the body of seven births, his own person. These terms, *dhvaja*, *śastrahata*, and *saptāvarta*, all denote the *samaya* (B: *de dag thams cad kyis kyaṅ dam tshig ñe bar mtshon pa*, xv. 234*a* 5). See below, I. xi. 8–11 and II. vii. 10.

[1] Concerning the act of slaying, see II. ix. 1–6. Here it is capable of a figurative interpretation: to slay the world is to render it free from the interdependent notions of subject and object.

[2] 'Externally it is stopped by the meditation of the wrathful kind (the rite referred to in Part II, Ch. 9); internally by the Great Void'—*phyir ni że sdaṅ rigs kyi tiṅ ṅe ḥdzin gyis dgag par byas la | naṅ du stoṅ pa chen pos dgag par byaḥo* (V. xv. 63*a* 4).

[3] The commentators differ in their analysis of this verse. K and S understand *paraṃ* as meaning 'other'; V and D, however, as 'supreme', interpreting *sattve* as other. This is also the rendering of T:

*ji ltar bdag ñid de ltar gźan |*
*de bźin bdag ñid ṅa mchog ñid |*

Bh's paraphrasing is the most satisfactory, and this serves as the basis of my translation: 'Just as in oneself, that is, the same as in oneself, consciousness of Self likewise is in other beings; so in others, that is to say, the consciousness of Self in others should be likewise in oneself'—*ji ltar źes bya ba la sogs pa la ji ltar bdag ni bdag daṅ ṅoḥo | źes ṅa rgyal ba de bźin du sems can pha rol po dag laḥo | gźan źes bya ba ni gźan du ṅa rgyal ba de bźin du bdag ñid la yaṅ bya baḥo |* (xv. 236*a* 5–6).

[4] According to S: '*Those beings whose flesh* means the flesh of *dhvajas* and others at meeting-places and so on. *By knowing* means by yogins and yoginīs who are wise in yoga. *Those beings* in the lives of other births come into the power of such yogins and yoginīs, become their disciples and delight in yoga'—*sems can gaṅ daṅ gaṅ rnams kyi źes pa ni ḥdus pa la sogs par rgyal mtshan la sogs paḥi śa | mkhas pas źes pa ni rnal ḥbyor daṅ rnal ḥbyor rnams kyi ste rnal ḥbyor la mkhas pa ni mkhas paḥo | sems can de źes pa ni skye ba gźan gyi*

## CHAPTER viii. THE TROUPE OF YOGINĪS

**a.** (1) Now I shall explain the circle of the *yoginīs*. Concentrate upon the triangle of origination[1] in the midst of space, and then perform this meditation at its centre, first the figurative representations[2] of the four elements in their right order—in the due order of appearance of the divinities.[3]

(2) First earth and water, then fire and wind, which correspond with the appearance of the goddesses, and with the meditator himself.[4]

(3) The *maṇḍala* which now arises pure and unblemished from the triangle, consists of two concentric parts, one formed by the eight central petals of the lotus, and the other by the triangle. (4) At their centre one should imagine a corpse,[5] which is in effect the seat of the fifteen *yoginīs*. Resting on that there should be a lunar disk, upon that the seed-syllable and upon that a solar disk.[6] (5) The conjunction of these two, lunar disk and solar disk, is the great bliss. ĀLI has become the moon, and the sun has resolved into KĀLI,[7] (6) and from this mingling of sun and moon Gaurī and her companions are proclaimed to be.

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*ḥgro ba rnal ḥbyor daṅ rnal ḥbyor maḥi dbaṅ du ḥgyur ba ste dkaḥ* (? *bkaḥ*) *ñan par ḥgyur źiṅ sbyor ba la dgaḥ bar ḥgyur ro /* (xv. 157*a* 6–*b* 1).

This is a hybrid interpretation, for while the ritual is accepted literally, the intention is idealized. It is not in order to win these beings as disciples that their flesh is eaten, but to gain their inherent power, the years of youth cut short in the hanged criminal and slain warrior, and the accumulated virtue of the person with seven human lives to his credit. More acceptable is the completely figurative interpretation, e.g. of K. The beings are the five *skandhas*, the flesh their self-nature; this is consumed and they are thereby freed from their phenomenal nature of mere appearance.

[1] K: 'One should concentrate upon the *bhaga*, that is a triangle, white like the moon in Autumn, called origin of the elements (*dharmas*), in space, that is to say in the space enclosed within the *vajra*-balustrade and canopy' (p. 123, ll. 23–25).

[2] These figurative representations (*cakra*) are as follow:

for Earth a square envisaged as arising from LAṂ
for Water a circle envisaged as arising from VAṂ
for Fire a triangle envisaged as arising from RAṂ
for Wind a semicircle envisaged as arising from YAṂ

This list is given in accordance with K (p. 123, ll. 31 ff.) and Bh (xv. 237*b* 7–238*a* 1). The syllables of origination do not agree, however, with a similar list given by G. Tucci (*I-T* i, p. 49) and by Gisbert Combaz ('L'Évolution du Stūpa en Asie', *MCB* 2, pp. 252–3). See also PK p. 2, vv. 19–22 where the syllables of origination are those listed above. The order of manifestation is here wind, fire, water, earth. Likewise *Sādhanamālā*, p. 226 last four lines (translated by Tucci in *Teoria e Pratica del Maṇḍala*, p. 41). This is the correct order, as K is aware (p. 123, ll. 27–29), but our text reverses them none the less.

[3] The divinities are the four goddesses, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā. See K (p. 104, ll. 7–14).

[4] The four elements are also envisaged as being within the yogin himself, situated at the navel, heart, throat, and top of the head. See Introduction, p. 38. Hence the reference to the meditator here. I translate the 2nd line of *śloka* 2, reading: *mahāvayur devatānāṃ bhāvakasya yathodayaṃ /*

[5] K (p. 124, l. 10) and Td (xvi. 169*a* 4) assume that there are fifteen corpses, but they thereby anticipate the process of emanation.

[6] T: *bdud las rgyal bas mnan* = covered with a solar disk. Thus all the commentators take it. Td: 'covered means that the seed is covered by a solar disk'—*mnan źes pa sa bon de ñi mas mnan paḥo* (xvi. 169*a* 7).

[7] Compare I. iii. 11.

The Moon is Mirror-like Wisdom,[1]
The Sun is the Wisdom of Sameness,
(7) The seed-syllables and symbols of the chosen divinity are Discriminating Wisdom.
The merging of all into one is Active Wisdom,
The manifestation is the Wisdom of the Pure Absolute.

(8) The sage should conceive of phenomenal forms in terms of these five modes here listed.

The meeting-place of ĀLI and KĀLI is the seat of Vajrasattva. (9) For the embryo that arises from the seed-syllable the sound of HŪṂ and PHAṬ is not required.[2] One should envisage the chief divinity of the *maṇḍala* arising as a manifestation of that Being.

(10) With features and symbolic implements as before,[3] and brilliant as the magic moon-stone, so they all become manifest with the self-nature of Wisdom and Means. (11) From the separating of Sun and Moon, ĀLI and KĀLI, Wisdom and Means, Gaurī and her companions arise each from a separate letter.[4] (12) Now in the inner circle there are five *yoginīs*, whom the knowing yogin always regards as representing the five *skandhas*. (13) In the east is Vajrā, and Gaurī to the south, Vāriyoginī in the west, Vajraḍākinī to the north, and Nairātmyā at the centre. (14) In the outer circle there are Gaurī II, Caurī, Vetālī, Ghasmarī and Pukkasī, Śavarī and Caṇḍālī, and Ḍombinī as the eighth. (15) At the zenith is Khecarī and at the nadir Bhūcarī, O thou of great compassion, and these two stand to represent *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

(16) All these goddesses are black in colour and exceedingly fearful and decked with the five symbolic adornments. They have one face and inflamed eyes and clasp in their hands the knife and the skull. (17) The circlet, the ear-rings and the necklace, the bracelets and the girdle, such are the five symbolic adornments that symbolize the Buddhas Five. (18) Just as is Nairātmyā, so are they all proclaimed to be. One hand holds the skull, in the right hand is the knife (19) and in the left hand the *khaṭvāṅga*;

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[1] The stages of gradual manifestation are defined in terms of the Five Wisdoms. See p. 58, fn. 2.

[2] The only obscurity here arises from the use of different terms to express essentially the same idea. 'That Being' (*sattva*) is Vajrasattva, and he is also the syllable (*akṣara*), in this case the sound A from which Nairātmyā, chief of this *maṇḍala*, arises. See I. iii. 11: 'betwixt them is the seed, and this is that Being, 'tis taught'. 'The violent invocation of HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ is not required. Just as a fruit ripens, white Vajradhara and black Vajrātmā dissolve into one'—HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ *drag po yaṅ mi ḥdod paḥo / śiṅ ḥbras ḥtshos pa lta bur rDorje ḥchaṅ dkar po rDorje bdag ma nag mo cig tu gyur to /* (D: xvii. 370*a* 7–*b* 1). Some of the other commentators make much difficulty of this verse. Compare K's interpretation (p. 124, ll. 28–34) with the process of emanation described in chapter 5 of Part II, p. 111. There violent action has been employed in the form of rousing songs.

[3] 'as before', as related in chapter 3. See also chapter 5 of Part II.

[4] 'separate letter', see II. v. 28.

around her thighs is a tiger-skin; she stands upon a corpse and is burning bright, with two arms and with yellow hair.

**b.** (20) The knife is there to cut off the six defects of pride and so on,[1] and the skull for bringing to an end discriminating thought which would regard existence and non-existence as essentially different.[2] (21) From it one drinks the blood of the Four Māras. The *khaṭvāṅga* represents the Void and the corpse is understood as Means. (22) If he conceives of the troupe in this way, the yogin will very soon gain perfection.

**c.** He should imagine the Innate under six aspects, first as black, secondly as red, (23) thirdly as yellow, fourthly as green, fifthly as indigo, and sixthly as white. (24) Then he conceives of it as the End of Cessation.[3]

There is the Process of Emanation and the Process of Realization,[4] (25) and relying upon these two processes the Adamantine One teaches the doctrine. The Process of Emanation has been told, and now I will tell of the Process of Realization.

**d.** (26) In space
is the triangle;
In the lotus[5]
lies knowledge;

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[1] The six defects are pride, ignorance, doubt, passion, anger, and false views (S: xv. 159*a* 6).

[2] Literally: the lotus-vessel (is made) with a skull (to cut off) the discrimination between existence and non-existence. This presumes *karttitum* as repeated from the line above. The commentators give no valid help in rendering this verse.

[3] 'End of cessation' (*viramānta*) is one of the names of the Innate, because the Joy of the Innate (*sahajānanda*) comes at the end of the Joy of Cessation (*viramānanda*). See the Introduction, p. 35.

These six colours represent the six spheres of existence. See also II. ii. 32. D observes that 'they are the essence of the Six Tathāgatas, and that in meditating upon the six-fold range of colour of the *maṇḍala* as requisite to the Process of Realization, one avoids clinging to the divinities as gross substantial forms'—*de rnams ni de bźin gśegs pa drug gi ṅo bo yaṅ rdzogs paḥi rim pa la ḥjug paḥi yan lag tu dkyil ḥkhor gyi kha dog rim pa drug tu yaṅ bsgom ste rags pa lhaḥi źen pa spoṅ ṅo* / (xvii. 371*a* 3–4).

[4] K: 'The process is one of meditation. Emanation refers to the manifestation of the forms of the divinities. The meditation in which this consists, is the Process of Emanation. Realization means being substantiated in the very essence itself, and the practice by which the yogin meditates who is intent only on this, is called the Process of Realization (K: p. 125, ll. 20–23).

[5] This is an interpretation of the first *śloka* of chapter 8 (p. 73). Seven words are given this secondary interpretation: *khadhātau*, *bhagaṃ*, *bhāvanā*, *cakraṃ*, *yathānyāyaṃ*, *devatā*, and *yathodayaṃ*; T and the commentaries of R and D give also an interpretation for *pūrvaṃ*: ' "*Before*" means here *the flow*.' So far as the words are concerned, these meanings assigned to them are completely arbitrary. The basis for identification lies in the theory of the *maṇḍala* without and the *maṇḍala* within the body. As these are taught as being identical, the words describing the process of one are interpreted in terms of the other by analogy. How forced it is may be seen from the fact that *devatā*, *yathodayaṃ*, and *pūrvaṃ* (if included) all refer to *bodhicitta*, but under different names. The formula resolves itself to this: In the lotus is knowledge.[*] There is union and the bliss that arises from it. It is self-experiencing. It is *śukra*. These terms are the subject-matter of the rest of this chapter, for they express the Process of Realization.

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[*] *jñāna* here equals *vajra*. So K (p. 125, l. 27), Bh and R all interpret.

here meditate.
Thence the circles
(27) in right order,
and the divine forms
appearing in due order.

here is union.
Thence bliss
self-experiencing,
which is *bodhicitta*
and is *śukra*.

Therefore twofold is the Innate, (28) for Wisdom is the woman and Means is the man. Thereafter these both become twofold, distinguished as absolute (*vivṛti*) and relative (*saṃvṛti*). (29) In man there is this twofold nature, *śukra* (relative) and the bliss arising from it (absolute); in woman too it is the same, *śukra* and the bliss arising from it.

**e.** (30) It is here that we have the distinction of the four kinds of Joy, since the Innate is fourfold in the Process of Realization.[1] (31) The first Joy is the *yogin*, perfect joy is the *yoginī*, extreme joy is all-embracing unity, and by means of that bliss one is omniscient.

(32) From Joy there is some bliss, from Perfect Joy yet more,
From the Joy of Cessation comes a passionless state.
The Joy of the Innate is finality.

(33) The first comes by desire for contact, the second by desire for bliss, the third from the passing of passion, and by this means the fourth is realized.

(34) Perfect Joy may be called *saṃsāra*, and *nirvāṇa* the Joy of Cessation, with plain Joy as a middle state. But the Innate is free of all three; (35) for there is found neither passion nor absence of passion, nor yet a middle state.

**f.** In that realization of the perfect truth there is neither Wisdom nor Means. (36) By no other may it be told, and from no one may it be received. It is known intuitively as a result of merit and of honouring one's *guru* and the set observances.

(37) Small and middling and great and whatever other things there are, all these are regarded as equal by those who have realized the truth.

(38) (Small means the subtle concept of a thing, and great refers to the thing as existing; middling is neither the one nor the other, and other things refers to the six faculties of sense.)[2]

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[1] This fourfold distinction of joy as existing in the Process of Realization corresponds to that which we have just read above: 'In the lotus lies knowledge; here is union, thence bliss.' The Omniscient One is Vajradhara (according to K) or Vajrasattva (according to S), who is the product of the union of Sun and Moon. See above I. iii. 11 and viii. 8. Hence the present equation. These four joys are here factors in the Process of Realization in that they are all present together, and may be regarded as the absolute aspect of the Four Joys, next listed, which are four stages, the first three of which belong to the relative sphere.

[2] This verse which is intended as an explanation of the preceding verse, only serves to obscure that which is already sufficiently clear. *Madhyamaṃ varjitaṃ dvābhyāṃ* is a stereotyped phrase and here adds nothing to the sense. S in commenting upon this verse, ignores it: 'Small means the atom and knowledge and so on; great means earth, mountain,

(39) Whatever things there are, moving and motionless, all these things am I. They are accepted as being equal and the same by those who have realized the truth and find everywhere the same flavour. (40) To be equal is to be the same, and of this the manifestation[1] is the flavour. There is a single substance of the one same flavour,[2] and in this sense it is said:

(41) The whole of existence arises in me,
In me arises the threefold world,
By me pervaded is this all,
Of nought else does this world consist.

(42) Whatever yogin, thinking thus, should perform the practice in complete self-control, he will succeed, there is no doubt, even though he be a man of little merit. (43) Eating, drinking, performing ablutions, awake, asleep, it is thus he should think, and so seeking after the Great Symbol, he will gain thereby that eternal state.

(44) One conceives of the whole of existence in that the mind does not conceive of it, and in this perfect knowledge, the conceiving is a non-conceiving.[3]

(45) Whatsoever things there are, whether moving or motionless, grass and shrubs and creeping-plants, they are conceived of as the supreme essence and possessing the nature that one possesses oneself. (46) In them there is just one without a second, great bliss which is self-experiencing. It is from this self-experiencing that perfection comes, and in self-experiencing consists thought-creation. (47) *Karma* consists of this same self-experiencing, for *karma* arises when it is thwarted.[4] One is oneself the

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ocean and so on; middling means pot and cloth and so on'—*dman pa ni rdul phra rab daṅ ye śes la sogs paḥo / phul du byuṅ ba sa daṅ ri daṅ rgya mtsho la sogs paḥo / bar ma ni bum pa daṅ snam bu la sogs paḥo /* (xv. 161*a* 5–6).

[1] 'Manifestation'—*cakra*, that is to say the *bhavacakra*, manifestation in phenomenal form, which is the cycle of existence. So V: ' "The flavour is its manifestation", from this ordering of the discourse we have the meaning that the circle of the bliss of pure light (the Innate) arises from the cycle of existence of the threefold world which arises in the twelvefold manner (*pratītyasamutpāda*), and this (Innate) is not to be sought elsewhere.' *ro ni de yi ḥkhor lo yin / źes bya ba la / de ltar brjod paḥi rim pas ḥjig rten gsum gyi srid paḥi ḥkhor lo yan lag bcu gñis lugs su ḥbyuṅ ba ḥdi ñid kho na las ḥod gsal baḥi bde baḥi ḥkhor lo ḥbyuṅ bas gźan du mi btsal źes paḥi don to /* (xv. 69*b* 7–70*a* 1).

[2] 'This primary substance which is the same and of one flavour is the threefold world, and no second substance apart from this is to be seen'—*mñam pa daṅ ro gcig par bya baḥi gźi ni srid paḥi ḥkhor lo ñid de / ḥdi las ma gtogs paḥi don gñis pa ni ḥgaḥ yaṅ yod par ma mthoṅ ṅo /* (V: xv. 70*a* 1–2).

[3] Compare the oft quoted verse: 'Existence is a conceiving of the non-existent, and this conceiving is no conceiving. Thus existence is no existence and no conceiving comes about.'

*abhāvabhāvanā bhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā*
*iti bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā nopalabhyate /*
*GS*, p. 11; *PK*, p. 2, v. 19; *Sekoddeśaṭika*, p. 41.

[4] S: '*Karma* arises from opposition, that is to say it opposes this great bliss, which is self-experiencing, with discriminating thought (*vikalpa*) and such contention, which fails to recognize its own true nature because of the effect of beginningless ignorance.' *btsod pa las ni las skyes te źes pa ni thog ma med paḥi ma rig paḥi stobs kyi⟨s⟩ raṅ bźin yoṅs su ma śes*

Destroyer, the Creator, the King, the Lord. (48) Passion and wrath, envy, delusion, and pride, none of these can prevail one sixteenth part against this delightful spot.[1] (49) It is the origin of all that is; it is knowledge; it is like space and it comprises Means. It is there that the threefold world arises of the nature of Wisdom and Means. (50) The Lord (Means) has the form of *śukra*, and the Lady (Wisdom) is the bliss that arises from it. He is free of the notions of unity and plurality, and she who is born of a moment, is the one supreme delight. (51) Self-realizing is this knowledge which surpasses the scope of words. It is a process of empowering, for it consists of the knowledge that pertains to the Omniscient Ones.[2]

(52) Earth, water, wind, fire, and space; none may obstruct at that moment the knowledge that knows self and other.[3] (53) At that moment it assumes one form together with the heavens, hells and abodes of men. Thus obstruction becomes impossible from that thought which distinguishes self and other.

(54) Perfection is not achieved by all the *vedas* and *siddhāntas*, and by purification there is another birth in another existence. (55) Vain is the striving of him who does not know Hevajra, for without him there can be no perfection in this world or the next. (56) So always, all day and night, one should abide in union with this one essential, like the flowing of the river's stream and the steadiness of the lantern's light.

## CHAPTER ix. THE SPHERES OF PURIFICATION

**a.** (1) Now I shall further expound the chapter on purification.[4] The purified condition of all things whatsoever is known[5] as the very truth itself. Proceeding from this we now speak of the purificatory power of the divinities, taking one by one.

(2) The six faculties of sense, their six spheres of operation,[6] the five

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*paḥi rnam par rtog pa la sogs paḥi rtsod pas bde ba chen po raṅ rig pa daṅ ḥgal lo* / (xv. 162*a* 5). K read *bodhanāt* and interpreted accordingly (p. 128, l. 30), but he is still forced to explain the word in an adverse sense as though it were *vikalpa*, and this is not its normal meaning. He says it is an acceptance of things under the form of subject and object, which is much the sense required by the context, but *bādhanāt* lends itself better to this interpretation. See also verse 52.

[1] 'This spot'—*tatpada* = its place, the place of the self-experiencing (K: p. 128, l. 35). Perhaps in the present context better understood as the seat of the Destroyer, Creator, &c., viz. Vajrasattva (see I. viii. 8). This is also the spot (*bindu*) at the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Numerous are the associations. See Introduction, p. 26.

[2] In this sense therefore it is theirs to bestow. See chapter 4 of Part I.

[3] S: 'At the moment of the arising of the Innate, every thing assumes its nature, and there is none of the conflict of a twofold nature. All conflict belongs to the sphere of two, and in the absence of two who can produce it and what is the conflict? Such is the sense'—*lhan cig skyes pa ḥbyuṅ baḥi skad cig la thams cad de daṅ deḥi raṅ bźin ñid du gyur te / gñis kyi⟨s⟩ tshul gyis rtsod pa med paḥo / rtsod pa thams cad ni gñis kyi spyod yul te / gñis su med pa la su źig gaṅ gi rtsod par byed ces bya baḥi don to* / (xv. 163*a* 4–5).

[4] See reference to purification (*viśuddhi*) in the Introduction, p. 29.

[5] 'Is known'—*smṛtā*, or as K understands it: 'has been taught', namely in I. viii. 35–41.

[6] There are really twelve *āyatana*; I interpret here as *viṣaya* (cf. II. iii. 31, 34).

*skandhas* and the five elements are pure in essence, but they are obscured by the molestations of ignorance.

(3) Their purification consists in self-experience, and by no other means of purification may one be released. This self-experiencing, this bliss supreme, arises from the pure condition of the spheres of sense. (4) Form and so on and whatever other spheres of sense there are, for the yogin all these appear in their purified condition, for of Buddha-nature[1] is this world.

(5) Vajragarbha said: 'O Lord, what are these things unpurified?'

The Lord replied: 'They are form and so on. And how so? Because of their nature as subject and object.'

Vajragarbha said: 'What are these subjects and objects?'

(6) The Lord replied: 'Form is perceived by the eye, sound is heard by the ear, smell is perceived by the nose, and taste by the tongue, 'tis sure; (7) things are sensed by the body and feelings of pleasure and so on are received by the mind. These are worthy of indulgence and should be indulged, when once rendered innocuous by purification.

(8) So there is Vajrā for the *rūpa-skandha* (bodily form),
Gaurī for the *vedanā-skandha* (feeling),
Vāriyoginī for the *saṃjñā-skandha* (perception),
Vajraḍākinī for the *saṃskāra-skandha* (impulses),
(9) Nairātmyā for the *vijñāna-skandha* (consciousness).

Such is the inner circle, and by the purificatory power of these, yogins who seek this truth will always gain their end.

(10) As for the outer circle:

in the north-east there is Pukkasī
in the south-east there is Śavarī
in the south-west there is Caṇḍālī
in the north-west there is Ḍombinī
(11) in the east is Gaurī II[2]
in the south is Caurī
in the west is Vetālī
in the north is Ghasmarī
at the nadir is Bhūcarī who represents *saṃsāra*
(12) at the zenith is Khecarī who represents *nirvāṇa*.

Such they are in the Process of Emanation.

(13) Gaurī is for form,
Caurī is for sound,

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[1] Literally: 'made of buddha', consisting essentially in an enlightened or purified condition.

[2] Gaurī II—'this is another Gaurī, but her name is the same' (K: p. 130, l. 33). Also see p. 31.

Vetālī is for smell,
Ghasmarī is for taste,
(14) Bhūcarī is for touch,
Khecarī is for thought.

By the purificatory power of these, yogins who seek this truth will gain their end.

**b.** (15) The purificatory significance of the sixteen arms is the sixteen kinds of voidness.[1]

The four legs signify the crushing of the four Māras,[2]
The faces the eight releases,[3]
The eyes the three adamantine ones,[4]
(16) Pukkasī is for earth,
Śavarī is for water,
Caṇḍālinī is for fire,
Ḍombī is for wind.
(17) Nairātmyā[5] is pervaded by wrath,
Vāriyoginī by passion,
Vajraḍākinī by envy,
The hidden Gaurī[6] by malignity,
(18) Vajrā by delusion.

By these the *skandhas* are purified in the Process of Emanation.

(19) That by which the world is bound, by that same its bonds are released, but the world is deluded and knows not this truth, and he who is deprived of this truth will not gain perfection.

(20) So it is said: "No smell, no sound, no form, no taste, and no

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[1] The sixteen kinds of voidness are given by K (p. 131, ll. 1–5). His list corresponds with that of the Madhyāntavibhaṅga, where they are fully commented upon (see Stcherbatsky's translation in *Bibliotheca Buddhica XXX*, pp. 86–99). See also Diṅnāga's *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*, edited and translated by G. Tucci in *JRAS* 1947, pp. 53–75. The list in *Mvp* (934–51) is eighteen-fold as is that of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (ed. Lamotte, p. 108).

[2] The four Māras are: '*Skandhamāra* who takes the form of Brahmā, *Kleśamāra* who takes the form of a yakṣa, *Mṛtyumāra* who takes the form of Yama and *Devaputramāra* who takes the form of Indra' (Bh: xv. 257*b* 7).

[3] For the eight degrees of release see *Mvp*, 1511–18, also Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, pp. 39–40.

[4] The three adamantine ones are Body, Speech and Mind (K: p. 131, l. 7).

[5] All versions read *Vajrā* (instead of *Nairātmyā*), thus her name appears twice in this set of five. Although textually unchallengeable, it is certainly *Nairātmyā* who is intended, for she, like *Akṣobhya/Hevajra*, is *dveṣātmika* and occupies the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Of the commentators only B points this out: *rDo rje can źes pa ste bdag med paḥo* (xv. 258*a* 7) = ' "adamantine" (*vajrin*) means "absence of self" (*nairātmyā*)'. One should note that there is sometimes textual confusion between the forms *Vajrī* and *Vajrā*. *Vajrī* is properly the masc. sing. of *vajrin* 'adamantine' as used at II. iii. 1 and II. v. 1. Tibetan clearly distinguishes the two forms: *rDo rje ma* = Vajrā, *rDo rje can* = *vajrin*.

[6] 'Hidden *Gaurī*'—*Gauri* of the inner circle as opposed to *Gaurī* II.

purification of thought, no touch, no substance, for the world is essentially pure by a universal purification. Ah, I know the world."[1]

## CHAPTER X. CONSECRATION

**a.** (1) Now I shall expound the ordering of the *maṇḍala*, by means of which a pupil is consecrated, and of the rite too I shall speak.

(2) First the yogin, himself the essence of the god, should purify the site, and having zealously prepared the requisite protection,[2] he should then inscribe the *maṇḍala*. (3) In a garden or in a lonely spot or in a *bodhisattva*'s house[3] or in the centre of the *maṇḍala*-hall[4] one should lay out the *maṇḍala* supreme, (4) using the sacred writing-colours,[5] or secondly powder made from the five gems, or else the grains of rice and so on. (5) With these the *maṇḍala* should be made, in size three cubits plus three inches. The celestial spell who comes of the Five Families, should be placed there, (6) or whatsoever sixteen-year-old girl is found.[6] A *yoginī* is resorted to, so long as she possesses *śukra*. (7) One binds the face of the *pràjñā* and likewise of the *upāya*, and the product of the service rendered one drops into the pupil's mouth. (8) In that very act the Flavour of Sameness should be placed within the pupil's range.

**b.** From self-experiencing comes this knowledge, which is free from ideas of self and other; (9) like the sky it is pure and void, the essence supreme of non-existence and existence, a mingling of Wisdom and Means, a mingling of passion and absence of passion. (10) It is the life of living things, it is the Unchanging One Supreme; it is all-pervading, abiding in all embodied things. (11) It is the stuff the world is made of, and in it existence and non-existence have their origin. (12) It is all other things that there are: the universal consciousness, the primeval man, *Īśvara*, *ātman*, *jīva*, *sattva*,

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[1] 'I know'—*manye* is explained as *jānāmi* (K: p. 131, l. 20). Likewise in the 1st person by Bh: *ṅas śes pa* (xv. 259*a* 5).

[2] 'The requisite protection'—literally: having made it *HŪṂ Vajra*. See p. 56 fn.

[3] 'Bodhisattva's house'—K: 'of Vajrapāṇi and so on' (hence in their temple); D: 'of a yogin or king of compassionate disposition or in a monastery building, where there are books, for their essence is the bodhisattva'—*byaṅ chub sems paḥi khyim ni rnal ḥbyor paḥam rgyal po la sogs pa sñiṅ rje daṅ ldan paḥo / yaṅ gtsug lag khaṅ ste po ti glegs bam gnas paḥo / deḥi bdag po byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ yin paḥi phyir /*

[4] '*maṇḍala*-hall' means where the rite is performed or else a temple. *dkyil ḥkhor khaṅ pa ni sgrub paḥi gnas sam lha khaṅ ṅo* (D: xvii. 378*a* 7–*b* 1).

[5] For the sacred writing-colours, see I. ii. 20.

[6] For the names and positioning of these five *yoginīs* see diagram VIII. They may be imagined or actually represented. V: 'Then in order to teach foolish worldlings the way of passion one should place in the *maṇḍala* a girl as described below, who bears the marks of the five families, who is expert in the Secret Way and has previously received absolution' —*de nas byis pa rnams la ḥdod chags kyi lam bstan par bya baḥi phyir ḥog nas ston bźin paḥi bu mo rigs lṅaḥi rtags can gsaṅ baḥi theg pa la mchog tu gźol ba sṅon du legs par sbyaṅs la / dkyil ḥkhor du gźug go /* (xv. 77*b* 1–2).

*kāla*, *pudgala*. It is the essential nature of all existing things and illusory in its forms.

(13) First is just Joy,
Secondly is Joy Supreme,
Thirdly is the Joy of Cessation,
Fourth is the Joy Innate.

(15) The first Joy is of this world, the second Joy is of this world, the third Joy is of this world, but the Innate exists not in these three.'

(14)[1] Hearing this, all the buddhas, Vajragarbha and the rest, were seized with the greatest astonishment and fell senseless to the ground.

(16) Then the Lord Hevajra whose form comprises all the Buddhas, said these words for the arousing of Vajragarbha, and which were a wondrous cure for their astonishment.

(17) 'Neither passion nor absence of passion is found there, nor yet a middle state. Because of its freedom from all three the Innate is called perfect enlightenment. (18) The essence of all things and yet free of all things, one may mark it at the beginning of Cessation,[2] but from those other three Joys it is free. (19) At first it appears as cloud, but with realization arisen it appears as *māyā*; then it suddenly appears as sleep with no distinction between sleep and the waking state. (20) The yogin of the Great Symbol gains fulfilment in that which is no fulfilment, for its characteristic is the very absence of any characteristic.'

**c.** Then the Master spoke of the *maṇḍala*, blazing (21) and brilliant, square with four portals, adorned with garlands and chains and variously coloured streamers, equipped with eight columns (22) and *vajra*-threads, decorated with flowers of different hues, with incense, lamps, and scents, and provided with the eight vessels. (23) These last have branches in them, and their necks are covered with cloth and encircled with the five kinds of gem. To the east one should place the Vessel of Victory. (24) With a fair new thread, well-fastened and of right measurement, the master should bind it round, for it represents the chosen divinity. (25) He should repeat one hundred thousand times the *mantra* of the central divinity, and ten thousand times that of the other components. With the *mantra* quoted above he should purify the site, (26) but first he should present an offering accompanied by the *mantra*: OṂ A-kāro, &c.[3] He should perform the rite of protection just as prescribed, for as for meditation so it is here. (27) The consecrations which are taught, he should give correctly in his *maṇḍala*, and worship and supplication should be made as ordained.

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[1] According to the order of the text, this *śloka* should follow (13), but it is very clumsy. K explains it as inserted by the *saṅgitikāra* (p. 133, l. 1). There is no textual justification for attempting to re-order the verses. The change in the translation, however, gives ease of reading without distortion of the sense.

[2] 'At the beginning of the Joy of Cessation'—see the Introduction, p. 35.

[3] This *mantra* is the first listed in Ch. 2 (p. 50).

(28) He should draw the unblemished twofold circle of Gaurī and her companions. In the east he should draw a knife,[1] and continue likewise to the south and west (29) and north, to south-east, south-west, north-west, north-east, even as it is prescribed, and likewise to nadir and zenith.

(30) Then the master should enter the *maṇḍala* as two-armed Hevajra, and assuming the majestic bearing of Vajrasattva, he should adopt the *ālīḍha*[2] posture. (31) He is washed and purified and perfumed, and adorned with the various adornments. HŪṂ HŪṂ he cries majestically, HI HI he cries to terrify.

**d.** (32) Then the essence is declared, pure and consisting in knowledge, where there is not the slightest difference between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

(33) Nothing is mentally produced in the highest bliss, and no one produces it,
There is no bodily form, neither object nor subject,
Neither flesh nor blood, neither dung nor urine,
No sickness, no delusion, no purification,
(34) No passion, no wrath, no delusion, no envy,
No malignity, no conceit of self, no visible object,
Nothing mentally produced and no producer,
No friend is there, no enemy,
Calm is the Innate and undifferentiated.

**e.** (35) Then Vajragarbha said: 'How does bodily form consisting of the five elements come about, for in the beginning it is essentially pure and lacks any proper nature?'

(36) Then said the Adamantine Lord, rejoicer of the *ḍākinīs*: 'Calm it is in its proper nature and abiding in all bodily form.'

(37) Vajragarbha then said: 'But how, Lord, should the group of *skandhas* come about?'

(38) The Lord replied: 'At the union of *vajra* and lotus, earth arises there from that contact with the quality of hardness. (39) From the flow of *śukra* water arises, and fire from the friction. Wind comes from the motion, (40) and space corresponds to the bliss. Because it is involved with these five, bliss is not the final essence, for bliss consists in the elements. (41) The Innate is proclaimed as that which arises in spontaneity. The Innate is called self-nature, the single unity of all phenomenal forms.

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[1] Each goddess is represented by the symbol she holds normally in the right hand: in the east Gaurī by a knife, in the south Caurī by a drum, and so on in accordance with the list given in chapter 5 of Part II (p. 111).

[2] *ālīḍha*—'a particular attitude in shooting, the right knee being advanced and the left leg retracted' (Apte).

(42) The *yogin* is Means and Compassion, and the *yoginī* Wisdom and Voidness for she is deprived of causation.[1] The thought of enlightenment is the undivided unity of Compassion and Voidness.

(43) There is no recitation of *mantras*, no austerities, no oblations, no *maṇḍala*, and none of its components.

This is the recitation of *mantras*, the austerities and oblations, this is the *maṇḍala* and its components.

This in short consists of unity of thought.

## CHAPTER xi. THE FOUR GAZES[2]

**a.** (1) For Overthrowing the eyes are level with the gaze directed upwards towards the forehead.

For Subduing the gaze is directed towards the left and the two eyes towards the left.

(2) For Conjuring forth one directs the two eyes towards the right and upwards.

For Petrifying the gaze is central with the eyes looking towards the end of the tip of the nose.[3]

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[1] The text has only: 'Compassion and means is the yogin, the *mudrā* by freedom from cause.' K supplies the deficiency: 'The *mudrā* is Wisdom, and what is that? Why Voidness, the non-arising of all the *dharmas*. And how does this non-arising, this Voidness, come about? Because of absence of the cause' (p. 135, ll. 12–14). For full discussion of this theme see Stcherbatsky, *Nirvāṇa*, pp. 71 ff.

[2] For this 11th chapter we rely chiefly upon V's commentary.

[3] 'The yogin who is striving to apply himself to the subjugating of some evil person, should make himself into his own chief divinity in appearance like to *Akṣobhya*, and gazing with the two eyes level and directed towards the forehead, he should meditate, intone the *mantras*, and make sacrifice, and thereby the overthrowing will come about. (He looks) upwards because there is the bodily form of him who belongs to the family of wrath (*Akṣobhya*).

The yogin who is striving to subdue the threefold world by some means of yoga, should make himself like to *Padmarāga*, and turning his two eyes together towards the left, by performing the meditation and so on, he will subdue the person. This is because the bodily form of *Padmarāga* is to the left.

Likewise the yogin who is striving to conjure forth (some being in) the threefold world should make himself like *Sūryodayī**, and gazing with his eyes together slightly to the right and upwards, by practising the meditation and so on, he will conjure this being forth. This is because the bodily form of *Sūryodayī* is to the right.

Likewise the yogin who is striving to reduce to rigidity someone in the threefold world, should make himself like *Pītarajakī**, and gazing with his eyes together over the tip of his nose, by practising the meditation and so on he will reduce the being to rigidity. This is because that great subduer, whose form is yellow in colour, occupies a central position.'

*de bas na gdug pa gaṅ śig ḥdul baḥi sbyor ba la brtson paḥi rnal ḥbyor pas* Mi bskyod pa *lta buḥi sku mdog tu raṅ ñid lhag paḥi lhar bsgyur la | mig gñis dus gcig gcig tu dpral baḥi phyogs su blta bźin du bsgom pa daṅ | bzlas pa daṅ sbyin sreg byas pas lhuṅ bar ḥgyur te | steṅ na źe sdaṅ gi rigs can kyi sku bźugs paḥi phyir ro | . . . sbyor ba gaṅ źig gis ḥjig rten gsuṃ po dbaṅ du byed pa la brtson paḥi rnal ḥbyor pas raṅ ñid* Padmarāga *lta bur bsgyur la mig gñis dus mñam du g'yon gyi phyogs su blta bźin du bsgom pa la sogs pa byas pas ḥgro ba dbaṅ du ḥgyur te | g'yon gyi phyogs na* Padmarāga *lta buḥi sku bźugs paḥi phyir ro | . . . de*

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* These names are reconstructed from the Tibetan.

(3) Overthrowing is accompanied by exhaling,
Subduing by inhaling,
Conjuring forth by holding the breath,
and Petrifying by the tranquillized pose.[1]

(4) Overthrowing must take place amidst succulent trees,
Subduing is associated with flowers,
Conjuring forth must take place amidst *vajra*-trees,
and Petrifying in moving grass.[2]

*bźin du ḥgro ba gsum po ḥgugs pa la brtson paḥi rnal ḥbyor pas | raṅ ñid* ñi ma ḥchar ka *lta buḥi skur bsgyur la mig gñis dus mñam du g'yas kyi steṅ phyogs su cuṅ zad blta bźin du bsgom pa la sogs pa byas pas ḥgro ba gsum po ḥgugs par ḥgyur te | g'yas phyogs na* ñi ma ḥchar ka *lta buḥi sku bźugs paḥi phyir ro | . . . de bźin du ḥjig rten gsum po reṅs pa la brtson paḥi rnal ḥbyor pas raṅ ñid* gSer btso ma *lta buḥi skur bsgyur la mig gñis dus mñam du snaḥi rtse moḥi dbus su lta bźin du bsgom pa la sogs pa byas pas ḥjig rten gsum po reṅs par ḥgyur te | dbaṅ chen sku gser gyi mdog lta bu dbu ma na bźugs paḥi phyir ro |* (V: xv. 85*a* 4–*b* 3).

[1] 'One applies oneself to the practice (of Overthrowing) while exhaling the breath, because by the expulsion of their breath all embodied things lose their life. One applies oneself to the practice (of Subduing) while inhaling the breath, because by the breath of life remaining within all is brought under control. One performs this practice (of Conjuring forth) without letting the breath escape and keeping it well inside by the pot-process, because one who keeps the breath inside without letting it go, conjures forth a universal flow of nectar like that of the moon. One performs this practice (of Petrifying) placed just as one is, the breath flowing in and out without deliberated inhalation, because by the breath of all beings becoming motionless, they become petrified.'

*rluṅ phyir ḥbyuṅ ba bźin du sbyor ba la brtson par bya ste | rluṅ phyir phyuṅ nas lus can thams cad tsheḥi dus byed paḥi phyir ro | . . . rluṅ naṅ du brṅub bźin du sbyor ba la brtson par bya ste | srog gi rluṅ naṅ du gnas pas thams cad dbaṅ du ḥdus paḥi phyir ro | . . . rluṅ phyir ma btaṅ bar bum pa can gyi sbyor bas naṅ du legs par bkaṅ źiṅ bzuṅ bas sbyor ba la brtson par bya ste | rluṅ naṅ du gnas śiṅ phyir ḥbyuṅ ba med pa can kun gyi bdud rtsiḥi rgyun zla ba lta bu ḥgugs paḥi phyir ro | . . . rluṅ phyi naṅ du spro ba daṅ | brṅub pa ma yin pas ji lta ba bźin du gźag la sbyor ba la brtson par byas te | ḥgro ba kun gyi srog rluṅ g'yo ba daṅ bral bas reṅs par ḥgyur baḥi phyir ro |* (V: xv. 85*b* 4–86*a* 1).

[2] 'In order to perform these four magic rites, one carries out correctly the meditating, reciting, and sacrificing. So doing, one may test it on solid objects and one's practice may then said to be sure. Therefore in the case of practising the rite of killing, if he in the first instance directs the gaze that slays towards any green tree that is moist and possesses branches and leaves and thereby causes it to dry up, at that very time the same will apply towards the evil man in question. Likewise whoever with the right kind of gaze and breathing looks upon any flower which thereby dries up, then it will apply (elsewhere). Likewise whatever yogin with the right kind of gaze and breathing looks at a *vajralata*, that is a tree which is very hard and firm, and if he thereby conjures it forth so that the body of its fruit becomes quite ripe, then (the rite) will apply (elsewhere). Likewise if a yogin with the right kind of gaze and breathing looks upon very fine and soft grass that grows on the top of a high hill or mountain and is (as slender) as the hair of a horse's tail and waves very much when moved by the wind, and if he thereby causes it to be unmoved by the wind or anything else, then (the rite) will apply (elsewhere).'

*lta staṅs bźi po rnams bsgrub par bya baḥi phyir bsgom pa daṅ bzlas pa daṅ sbyin sreg la sogs pa cho ga bźin bsgrubs nas | re źig bems paḥi rdzas kyi dṅos po rnams la ñams sad pa daṅ | tiṅ ṅe ḥdzin brtan par gsuṅs so | . . . de las khyad par du gsod paḥi sbyor ba goms pas thog mar re źig | śiṅ ljon pa yal ga daṅ lo mar ldan pa rlon par ḥdug pa gaṅ źig la rnal ḥbyor pas rluṅ ḥbyuṅ bźin du bsad paḥi lta bas bltas paḥi tshe skam par ḥgyur baḥi dus de tsam na ma ruṅs pa la yaṅ sbyar bar byaḥo | . . . de bźin du lta staṅs daṅ rluṅ gaṅ dag daṅ ldan pas me tog gaṅ la bltas pas skam pa de nas sbyar bar bya źes bya baḥi don to | . . . lta staṅs daṅ rluṅ gaṅ daṅ ldan pas badzra lata źes paḥi śiṅ śin tu mkhraṅ ciṅ rtsub pa la rnal ḥbyor pas bltas pa na | ḥbras kyi sñe ma legs par smin pa ltar dgug par gyur pa na sbyar bar bya ces paḥi don to | . . . lta staṅs daṅ rluṅ gaṅ dag daṅ ldan pas sgaṅ bu mthon po daṅ | ri bo la sogs paḥi rtse mo gaṅ*

(5) With six months' application to the practice one will succeed, there is no doubt. Let no mistakes be made about it, unthinkable are a buddha's powers. (6) Having perfected the four gazes, the yogin should bring about the salvation of all beings. Actual slaying should not be done as that would be indeed a breach of the convention.[1] (7) All things not done may here be done except for misleading living-beings. One does not obtain the perfection of the sign by simply harming living-beings.

**b.** (8) For the sake of perfection in Hevajra he should consume the fivefold sacrament of initial NA, initial GA, initial HA, final ŚVA and initial ŚVA. (9) So five ambrosias one should consume for the sake of perfection in Hevajra.[2]

Then one should mark out a 'seven-timer'[3] with the characteristics recounted in Hevajra. (10) In the seventh birth there comes about that perfection, making of no account the Joy of Cessation (which precedes it). He has a fair-sounding voice, beauteous eyes and a sweet-smelling body of

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*dag na skyes paḥi rtsa phra mo śin tu mñen pa / rtaḥi rṅa maḥi ñag ma tsam la rluṅ gis bskyod na cher g'yo baḥi bdag ñid can la rnal ḥbyor pas bltas pa na rluṅ la sogs pas mi sgul ba na sbyar bar byaḥo /* (V: xv. 86*a* 1–7).

[1] 'The rites of slaying and so on which have been spoken of, are for frightening beings in order to subjugate them, and by means of that to put them (on the right path); if on the other hand one actually killed them, that would be a breaking of the convention of the Great Symbol and one would fall into the Avīci Hell'—*bsad pa la sogs paḥi las gaṅ dag gsuṅs pa de dag sems can gdul baḥi phyir re źig skrag par bya ba yin la des ḥjug par yaṅ ḥgyur te / gźan du ni ṅes par gtan du gsad na phyag rgya chen poḥi dam tshig ñams te mnar med par ḥgro bar ḥgyur ro /* (V: xv. 86*b* 5–6).

[2] 'Those who keep to the convention of Hevajra should eat according to the external interpretation and be watchful according to the internal.

As for this the first letter of the name man (*nara*) is NA, the first letter of the name cow (*go*) is GA, the first letter of the name elephant (*hastin*) is HA, the last letter of the name horse (*aśva*) is ŚVA and the first letter of the name dog (*śvan*) is ŚVA. Putting these materials together, one should make them into pellets the size of a thumb-joint, then purify them, mix them together and burn them, make them into an elixir and eat them; by this means one gains external perfection. Likewise by saying that these are the five faculties of sense, the eye and so on, with the name of cow (*go*), &c., which are turned away from their spheres and kept so, there is produced the extreme state of watchfulness. Likewise the five ambrosias, MU (*mutra*), MA (*māṃsa*), VI (*viṭ*), RA (*rakta*), and ŚU (*śukra*) are to be treated with the distinction of exoteric and esoteric significance, such is the teaching of the Tathāgata.'

*Kyeḥi rDorjeḥi dam tshig la gnas pa rnams kyis phyi naṅ gi bye brag gis phye la bzaḥ ba daṅ bsrvṅ ba byaḥo / de la skyes buḥi miṅ gi daṅ poḥi yi ge NAḥo / gaṅ gi ba laṅ gi miṅ gi daṙ poḥi yi ge GAḥo / HA ni glaṅ po cheḥi miṅ gi daṅ poḥi yi geḥo / ŚVA ni rtaḥi mthaḥ maḥi miṅ gi yi geḥo / de bźin du ŚVA ni khyiḥi miṅ gi daṅ poḥi yi geḥo / rdzas ḥdi rnams mñam par byas la mthe boḥi tshigs mdud tsam gyi ril bu byas te sbyaṅ ba daṅ / spel ba daṅ sbar ba daṅ bdud rtsir byas te zos pas phyiḥi dṅos grub tu ḥgyur la / de bźin du gaṅ gi go la sogs paḥi miṅ can mig la sogs paḥi dbaṅ po rnams yul las bzlog ste gnas par gsuṅs pas mchog gi bsruṅ bar* ḥgyur ro / de bźin du bdud rtsi lṅa ste / BI daṅ MU daṅ MA daṅ RA daṅ ŚU rnams kyaṅ phyi naṅ gis phye la spyad par bya ba de bźin gśegs paḥi bkaḥ luṅ ṅo /* (V: xv. 87*a* 1–5).

[3] For the 'seven-timer' see p. 71

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* *srub par* on the block-print, but this is corrected to *bsruṅ bar* written by a Tibetan hand on a small piece of paper and stuck over the error in the India Office copy.

great splendour, (11) and he possesses seven shadows.[1] When he sees such a one the yogin should mark him out. By the mere eating of his flesh one will gain at that moment the powers of an aerial being.[2]

c. (12) Now I shall give the *sādhana* of Kurukullā, by means of which all beings are brought into subjection. It has been mentioned before in brief, and is told in full in twelve parts.[3] (13) This goddess arises from the syllable HRĪḤ, is red in colour with four arms, and in her hands she holds a bow, an arrow, a blue lotus, and a hook. (14) By merely meditating upon her one brings the threefold world to subjection. By 100,000 recitations of her *mantra* one reduces kings, by 10,000 the people, (15) by 10 million cattle and *yakṣas*, by 700,000 the titans, by 200,000 the gods, and yogins by 100.

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[1] According to D: 'at the time of the full-moon one should smear the cavity in the lower part of the leg of a vulture with *vairocana* (one of the five ambrosias), and look; if his seven shadows then appear, one will know he is a seven-timer'—*ñaḥi dus su bya rgod kyi rje ṅar gyi sbubs rnam par snaṅ mdzad kyi byugs la | bltas na deḥi grib ma bdun byuṅ na ske bar bdun par śes par bya |* (xvii. 387*a* 3–4).

[2] '*Khecaratva* means having the universal power of a *vidyādhara*, possessing that knowledge which is like the sky'—*mkhaḥ la spyod pa ñid ces pa ni rig pa ḥdzin paḥi ḥkhor los sgyur ba ḥdzin pa ñid nam mkhaḥ daṅ mñam paḥi ye śes rñed pa ñid do |* (xv. 172*b* 5).

[3] See Ch. 2, (19) and (26), which are the previous references to this goddess. The twelve parts refer to extended version of the *Hevajra-tantra*, concerning which see Introduction, p. 16.

# PART II

## CHAPTER i. CONSECRATIONS AND OBLATIONS

**a.** (1) Then Vajragarbha said: 'May the Adamantine Lord, whose form comprises all the Buddhas, tell us about the consecration of books and images and so on, just as it should be.'[1]

(2) The Lord replied: 'Having made the correct oblation and laid out the *maṇḍala*, at night-fall one should prepare the image, the requisite arrangements being made. (3) Then into its heart one should cause to enter the buddhas of all the directions, remaining united with one's chosen divinity and with full and intuitive knowledge of the *mantras*.

(4) 'OṂ Vajra-flower ĀḤ HŪṂ SVĀHĀ'
'OṂ Vajra-incense " " '
'OṂ Vajra-lamp " " '
'OṂ Vajra-perfume " " '
'OṂ Vajra-offering " " '

(5) So one should present flowers and so on, produced variously from the syllable HŪṂ, offerings of water for the feet and so on, all as before in accordance with the way of former *tantras*.'[2]

**b.** The oblations:[3]

(6) For Propitiation the place for the fire should be round,
for the Bestowing of Prosperity it should be square,
for Slaying it should be triangular, and here too one should perform the others.
(7) For Propitiation it should be one cubit across and half a cubit deep,
For the Bestowing of Prosperity two cubits across and one deep,
(8) For Slaying twenty *aṅgulas* across and ten deep.[4]

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[1] *pratiṣṭhā* is the setting-up or consecrating of religious objects, books, images, *ṭhaṅkas*, &c., and is so translated in full to distinguish it from *abhiṣeka*, also translated by 'consecration'. Text has literally: 'the excellent characteristic (= nature) of consecration'. Concerning this rite see also *TPS* i, pp. 308–16.

[2] According to Bh (xv. 268*b* 3) the former *tantras* are the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and so on. Compare II. v. 57.

[3] V associates these rites with the elements and *cakras* within the body thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pacifying* | Water | Forehead | |
| *Prospering* | Earth | Navel | |
| *Slaying* | Space | Top of the head | |
| *Subduing* | Fire | Throat | (xv. 89*b* 7–99*a* 1). |

This arrangement conflicts with the normal ordering of the elements within the body. (See Introduction, p. 38). For the identifying of 'slaying' with 'bliss' (which corresponds with the top of the head, viz. the *mahāsukhacakra*) see I. v. 21.

[4] Literally: 'two cubits and one cubit below and above', and so on. The only text to give any precision is the Chinese, where we have: 'broad one cubit, deep half a cubit, . . . broad two cubits, deep one cubit . . . broad ten inches, deep five inches' (595*a* 6–8). At Jiwong Monastery in Shar-Khumbu, I saw such a ceremony performed (*Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 259–60).

For Propitiation it is white, for the Bestowing of Prosperity it is yellow, (9) for Slaying black, and for Subduing red.

Conjuring forth is as for Subduing, and causing Hatred is as for Slaying.

(10) As for the actual oblations, for Propitiation one uses sesame oil, for Bestowing Prosperity curds, for Slaying, causing Hatred and other harmful rites one uses thorns, and a blue lotus for Subduing and Conjuring forth.

(11) The *mantra* for invoking Fire:

OṂ Agni of mighty energy, fulfiller of all desires, who in compassion serves all beings, be thou present here.

(12) The invocation of the Earth-Goddess:

Thou Goddess, honoured by Hevajra's wrath,
Mother of the Earth, and bearer of many kinds of gems,
Thou art witness here, for I, so and so, would lay out the *maṇḍala*.

(13) The *mantra* for gratifying Fire:

Go thou, O Consumer of the Offering, to prosper the affairs of yourself and of others. At the right time you will approach.
Grant me complete success.

(14) Mantra *of the offerings*: OṂ JAḤ HŪṂ VAṂ HĀḤ KHAṂ RAṂ
Mantra *of the water for the feet*: OṂ NĪ RĪ HŪṂ KHAḤ
Mantra *of the food-offering*: OṂ DHVAṂ DHVAṂ DHVAṂ

## CHAPTER ii. THE CERTAINTY OF SUCCESS

a. (1) Vajragarbha said: 'But how should beings reach perfection by means of their chosen divinity, when they find themselves amidst all the elements of existence as extensive as space, (lost) like a goad in the ocean?'

(2) The Lord replied: 'One who desires perfection should keep his inner self in union with Nairātmyā or Śrī Heruka, and not even for a moment should his thought be deflected elsewhere. (3) For one who is persevering for the first time, that place is considered propitious, where single-minded and self-collected a yogin may gain success. (4) At night in his own house, confident of gaining perfection, the wise man should meditate upon the Yoginī or upon Śrī Heruka in his manifested form. (5) (Moreover at all times) whether washing the feet or eating, rinsing the mouth or chewing betel-nut, rubbing the hands with sandal-wood, or girding the hips with the loin-cloth, (6) going-out, making conversation, walking, standing, in wrath, in laughter, the wise man should honour the Lady, strong in his vows, he should meditate upon the Yoginī.[1] (7) Seekers of

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[1] K refers to this practice as concentrated yoga (*samāhitayoga*) and continuous yoga (*nirantarayoga*). The first is performed on fixed occasions, 'at the three times (*trisandhi*) and elsewhen' (B: xv. 269*a* 6); the other is a continuous process of mental control. Compare the end of Ch. 4, Part I. *Bhagavatī* (the Lady), *Yoginī* is in every case *Nairātmyā*.

perfection with perfection as their goal strive never for one moment to have their thought deflected elsewhere with the mind defiled by ignorance. (8) O Vajragarbha, I call meditation the destroyer of evil. Try it one fortnight with zeal, making perfection your goal, (9) abandoning all discursive thought, your mind set on the form of the divinity. Try it one day, meditating uninterruptedly. (10) There are no other means in the *saṃsāra* for gaining the end of yourself and others, for a spell, once acquired, brings about immediate realization.[1]

**b.** (11) By fears and passions and sorrows, by griefs and torments and such calamities, by passion, wrath, and delusion, the yogin is not disturbed. (12) Thus understanding the ripening of the fruit of good and evil acts, how should yogins stay one moment in the Raurava Hell?

(13) Perpetrators of the five great evil acts and those who delight in taking life, also those of wretched birth, and fools who are wicked in their conduct, (14) and ugly brutes with distorted limbs, these gain perfection by the right use of thought. So certainly will he succeed who practises the ten virtues, is devoted to his master with his senses well controlled, (15) and is free from pride and wrath.

**c.** Keeping continuously to the practice, perfected in the *siddhi* and self-collected, (16) for one month one should privately continue, while one awaits the acquiring of a *mudrā*. The yogin then receives instructions. He is instructed by the *yoginīs*: (17) "Take such and such a Mudrā, O Vajradhṛk, and serve the cause of living-beings." Taking this girl, who has wide-open eyes and is of age[2] and endowed with youth and beauty, (18) he should consecrate her with the seed of enlightenment. Beginning with the ten rules of virtuous conduct, he should expound to her the *Dharma*, (19) how the mind is fixed on the divine form, on the meaning of symbolic forms and concerning one-pointedness of mind, and in one month she will be fit, of that there is no doubt. (20) And so the girl is there, now freed from all false notions, and received as though she were a boon. Or else he should produce a Mudrā by conjuring her forth by his own power (21) from amongst the gods or titans or men, or the *yakṣas* or *kinnaras*. Then taking her, one should perform the practice with the realization of one's own composure. (22) For this practice, which is called terrifying in appearance,[1] is not taught for the sake of enjoyment, but for the examination of one's own thought, whether the mind is steady or waving.'

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[1] Bh 'As for this "spell once acquired", according to some treatises it does not bring about immediate realization; in the way of *Prajñāpāramitā* enlightenment comes about after three immeasurable *kalpas*. But as for this destroying of evil and this realization, a *kalpa* or more does not enter into it. It is in reference to this (that we read) a fortnight, a day or just once. Immediately or at once means either at the end of half a month or half a day, but (the main point is that) one gains buddhahood or Vajradharahood in this life.' *rig ma l[h]an cig goms byas pas źes pa ni rgyud gźan las ni ḥphral du mṅon du byed par ḥgyur ba ma yin la pha rol tu phyin paḥi lugs kyis kyaṅ bskal pa graṅs med pa gsum gyis byaṅ chub ñid duḥo | de yaṅ sdig pa ḥjoms śiṅ mṅon du ḥgyur ba ni bskal pa gcig la sogs pa gtogs par mi ḥbyuṅ źes paḥo | de la bltos nas zla ba phyed duḥam | ñi ma gcig ni lan cig tsam ñid do | ḥphral duḥam de ma thag ces pa ni zla ba phyed kyi mthar ram | ñi ma phyed kyi mthar te| tshe ḥdi ñid la saṅs rgyas paḥam rdo rje ḥdzin pa thob par ḥgyur ro |* (xv. 269*b* 4–7).

[2] 'of age'—*sihlakarppūrasaṃyuktāṃ* = 'possessed of frankincense and camphor' (see II. iii. 59. V: *khrag ḥbyuṅ baḥi dus la bab pa byaṅ chub sems kyi bde ba la dgaḥ ba |* (xv. 93*b* 5–6).

**d.** (23) Vajragarbha said: 'By one who is joined in union with Nairātmyā how can any distinction be made in the meaning of *mudrā*? And with this Mudrā and that Mudrā, with two Mudrās in fact, how should the perfection of the Great Mudrā come about?'[2]

(24) The Lord replied: 'Relinquishing her form as a woman, she would assume that of her Lord. Gone are her breasts, and his *vajra* is manifest with a bell on each side, where the *lotus* had been.

(25) The rest of the form of the mighty and blissful Heruka (26) easily assumes the masculine condition of the man who is in union with Heruka, and from this the perfection of the Great Symbol would come about for the yogin of such manifest power. (27) This identity of Wisdom and Means remains unharmed by the twofold process of origination and dissolution, for Means is the origination and Wisdom the dissolution and end of existence. (28) So in truth there is neither destruction nor origination. Having dissolved away, it has come to its end, and since there can now be no dissolution, neither is there destruction. (29) The yogin conceives of the diversity of existence as the Process of Emanation, and realizing the dream-like nature of this diversity, he renders it undiversified by means of its diversity. (30) Like a dream, like a mirage, like the "intermediate state", so the *maṇḍala* appears from continuous application to the practice. (31) The great bliss, such as one knows it in the consecrations of the Great Symbol, of that the *maṇḍala* is the full and efficacious expression, for nowhere else does it have its origin. (32) This bliss is black and yellow, red and white, dark green, dark blue, all things moving and unmoving. (33) This bliss is Wisdom, this bliss is Means, and likewise it is their union. It is existence, it is non-existence, and it is Vajrasattva.'[3]

(34) Vajragarbha said: 'This state of unity achieved in the Process of

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[1] K says it is terrifying in appearance because it is very bad, but he construes wrongly. Bh: 'It is terrifying in form because it possesses a form terrifying to fools'—*ḥjigs paḥi gzugs can źes bya ba ni byis pa dag la rab tu ḥjigs paḥi gzugs can gyis so* / (xv. 272*a* 6).

[2] The question follows logically from the previous discourse concerning the divine *Mudrā*, Nairātmyā, with whom the union is one of meditation, and the physical *mudrā*, with whom the union is physical. But the answer given implies a slightly different question: 'How by union with Nairātmyā (alone) does the condition of the (Great) *Mudrā* come about, since perfection in the (Great) *Mudrā* comes from two elements, Wisdom and Means?' Bh and V therefore interpret the *śloka* in this sense, or rather attempt to do so, for the text will not permit it.

[3] The themes of this discourse, namely the essential unity of Hevajra and Nairātmyā, of Means and Wisdom, of the evolution and reabsorption of existence, and of the *maṇḍala* as the representation of this process, are discussed in the Introduction, pp. 24, 32–3.

Realization is deemed as Excellent Bliss, as Great Bliss, so what is the use of the Process of Emanation except for conceiving it as Realization?'

(35) The Lord replied: 'Oho, Great Bodhisattva, by dint of faith it is destroyed, they say.[1]

**e.** Without bodily form how should there be bliss? Of bliss one could not speak. The world is pervaded by bliss, which pervades and is itself pervaded. (36) Just as the perfume of a flower depends upon the flower, and without the flower becomes impossible, likewise without form and so on, bliss would not be perceived. (37) I am existence, I am not existence, I am the Enlightened One for I am enlightened concerning what things are. But me they do not know, those fools, afflicted by indolence. (38) I dwell in Sukhāvatī in bliss with the Vajrayoginī, in that place which is symbolized by the syllable E,[2] in that casket of buddha-gems.

(39) I am the teacher, and I am the doctrine, I am the disciple endowed with good qualities. I am the goal, and I am the trainer. I am the world and worldly things. (40) My nature is that of Innate Joy and I come at the end of the Joy that is Perfect and at the beginning of the Joy of Cessation.[3] So be assured, my son, it is like a lamp in darkness.

(41) I am the Master with the thirty-two marks, the Lord with the eighty characteristics and I dwell in bliss in Sukhāvatī and my name is *śukra*. (42) Without this there would be no bliss, and without bliss this would not be. Since they are ineffective one without the other, bliss is found in union with the divinity.

(43) So the Enlightened One is neither existence nor non-existence; he has a form with arms and faces and yet in highest bliss is formless.

(44) So the whole world is the Innate, for the Innate is its essence. Its essence too is *nirvāṇa* when the mind is in a purified state.

(45) The divine form consists of just something born, for it is a repository of arms and face and colours, and moreover arises by the normal influence of past actions.[4]

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[1] B: 'By power of faith means by the self impelled by faith. So there is no knowledge of the form and so on even of the *tathāgatas*. In the first instance the mind is in a pure condition. Then there is faith. Then there is desire (*abhikāṅkṣā*) and action (*pravṛtti*)'—*dad paḥi śugs źes pa ni dad pas bskul baḥi bdag ñid pas na śugs te | de lta bu ni bcom ldan ḥdas kyi⟨s⟩ kyaṅ gzugs la sogs śes pa yod pa ma yin no sṅar brjod pa ñid do | de la daṅ por ni sems rab tu daṅ baḥo | de nas ni yid ches paḥo | deḥi rjes la mṅon par ḥdod ciṅ rab tu ḥjug ces paḥo |* (xv. 274*b* 3–4). This line is an unidentified quotation. It is not immediately relevant to the preceding question, nor to the answer which now follows.

[2] See p. 94, note 2.

[3] Concerning these joys see the Introduction, p. 35.

[4] S: 'As for the difference between the forms of buddhas and men, where their appearance with faces and hands is concerned, there is no difference; as for the five *skandhas* there is no difference; flesh and so on correspond with the natures of Pukkasī and so on. If you conceive of the bodies of the buddhas as being essentially mind (*vijñāna*), and of these (men) as being of the essence of earth and the other elements, then indeed this too is a matter of not knowing; you may conceive now of all the elements as being of the nature of mind and find no distinction whatsoever. But to one thinking thus, it is said:

**f.** (46) With the very poison, a little of which would kill any other being, a man who understands poison would dispel another poison. (47) Just as a man who suffers with flatulence is given beans to eat, so that wind may overcome wind in the way of a homœopathic cure, so existence is purified by existence in the countering of discursive thought by its own kind.

(48) Just as water entered in the ear is drawn out again by water, so also the notion of existing things is purified by appearances. (49) Just as those who have been burned by fire must suffer again by fire,[1] so those who have been burned by the fire of passion must suffer the fire of passion. (50) Those things by which men of evil conduct are bound, others turn into means and gain thereby release from the bonds of existence. (51) By passion the world is bound, by passion too it is released, but by the heretical buddhists this practice of reversals is not known.

**g.** (52) In the one essential unity a fivefold aspect subsists expressed in the set of five elements, and the Joy Supreme which is essentially one becomes five through their distinctions.

(53) From the contact that comes of the union of *vajra* and *lotus*, there arises the effect of hardness. The nature of hardness is delusion, and Vairocana is deemed to be delusion.

(54) The *bodhicitta* is a flow and this flow is deemed as water. The nature of water is wrath and this wrath is Akṣobhya.

(55) From the rubbing together of two things fire always arises. From heat arises passion and this passion is Amitābha.

(56) The *bodhicitta* in the lotus has the nature of air.
From air arises envy, and envy is Amoghasiddhi.

(57) The blood is bliss and passion and the nature of bliss is space. From space arises malignity and malignity is Ratnasambhava.[2]

(58) Thought is one but consists in this fivefold form. This develops

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"Very well, but you know because of the past influence (*vāsanā*) existing in your own nature, so the true nature does not become manifest because of the influence of beginningless ignorance"'—*saṅs rgyas daṅ miḥi lus dag dbye ba ni / phyag daṅ źal gyi rnam pa yis re źig bye brag med de / phuṅ po lṅa ñid du yaṅ bye brag med de / śa la sogs pa Pukkasī la sogs paḥi tshul gyis rnam par bźag pas so / gal te saṅs rgyas kyi sku dag rnam par śes paḥi raṅ bźin daṅ / ḥdi dag sa la sogs paḥi raṅ bźin no sñam na / emaḥo źes ma śes pa yin te / da lta ñid du chos ḥdi thams cad rnam par śes paḥi raṅ bźin du mthoṅ ste bye brag cuṅ zad kyaṅ med do / de lta na gal te ji ltar ḥkhor sñam pa la / gsuṅs pa ḥon kyaṅ raṅ bźin bag chags kyis śes pa ste / thog ma med paḥi ma rig paḥi bag chags kyis raṅ bźin snaṅ ba ma yin pas so /* (xv. 180*a* 2–5).

[1] Bh: 'On a place burned by fire one rubs oil, and neither too far from the fire nor too near one keeps it warm and suffers. By keeping it warm and suffering in that way, fire is removed by fire'—*mes tshig paḥi gnas su snum bskus te / me la śin tu riṅ ba yaṅ ma yin ñe ba yaṅ ma yin par bsro źiṅ gduṅ baḥo / de ltar bsro źiṅ gduṅs pas ni mes me ñid sbyoṅ baḥo /* (xv. 281*a* 3–4).

[2] In order to preserve a balanced order of equation in these five *ślokas*, I have translated as though reading:

*āpāṃ hi dveṣarūpatvāt* in (54)
*irṣyā vāyusaṃbhavā* in (56)
*piśunaṃ ca Ratneśaḥ syāt* in (57)

into the five families, and then there develop many thousands. (59) So this is the single self-existent, it is the great bliss, perfect and eternal, but it becomes five by the fivefold distinction of thought as passion and the other four. (60) As numerous as the sands of ten River Ganges are the companies of the *tathāgatas* in these single families. In these companies there are numerous clans, and in these clans yet hundreds of clans. (61) These many thousands of clans become many millions of clans, and in these clans there are still innumerable clans. Yet they all arise from the one clan of perfect joy.'

## CHAPTER iii. THE BASIS OF ALL TANTRAS

(1) Then the Adamantine Lord spoke to the *yoginīs* of the Means, which are the basis of all *tantras*, of the Union,[1] of consecrations and of secret language, of the different Joys and Moments, of feasting and the rest.

**a.** (2) 'Now the union of all buddhas consists in the sound EVAṂ.[2] This sound EVAṂ, the great bliss itself, is known from the process of consecration.'

(3) Then the *yoginīs* said to the Lord Vajrasattva: 'Is the sound EVAṂ then called the union of the *ḍākinīs*?[3] May the Lord, the Teacher, the Master of the World please expound the matter as it is.'

(4) The Lord replied: 'The sacred syllable E, adorned at its centre by the syllable VAṂ, is the abode of all delights, the casket of buddha-gems. (5) It is there that the four Joys arise, distinguished by the Moments, and from knowledge of these Moments the knowledge of Bliss is consummated in that sound EVAṂ. (6) So yogins know that the sound EVAṂ is attainable through the four Moments: *Variety*, *Development*, *Consummation*, and *Blank*.[4] (7) It is called *Variety*, because it involves different things, the

[1] 'union'—*saṃvara*; see Glossary p. 138.

[2] EVAṂ—'thus' symbolizes the 'two-in-one', viz. perfect knowledge. All *sūtras* and *tantras* begin: *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*—'I have heard thus', here interpreted as 'I have understood EVAṂ', the truth of this *tantra*, which is perfect knowledge. Thus we have E as *prajñā* (wisdom) and VAṂ as *upāya* (means). V here quotes a list of equivalents: sun/moon, blood/śukra, left-hand/right-hand, liṅga/bhaga, means/wisdom, sorrow/bliss, navel/head (xv. 100*b* 6–7).

[3] Following the Tibetan translations I have translated *ḍākinyaḥ* as a feminine form, but they refer to beings who have the power of moving in space, not necessarily feminine. See K (p. 141, ll. 10–11). See also I. xi. 11. Here they are synonymous with the buddhas referred to above. For such a cycle of *ḍākins* see *I-T* iii. 2, p. 66.

[4] See Introduction, pp. 34–35. D: 'The Moment of Variety is associated with the knowledge of various different kinds of *karuṇā*, the kiss, the embrace and so on, and Joy consists in the acquiring of some small part of Wisdom which cuts off entirely such discriminating. Saying that *Development is the reverse* means that external discriminating knowledge has been abandoned, that knowledge has vanished within. (This stage) lasts until the actual union, and the Perfect Joy consists in the complete cutting-off of the Moment of Development by a development exceeding that which precedes. *Reflection is Consummation* means that the *bindu* or *bodhicitta* has entered the *vajra*, that all opposing (*vipakṣa*)

embrace, the kiss and so forth. *Development* is the reverse of this, for it is the experiencing of blissful knowledge. (8) *Consummation* is defined as the reflection that this bliss has been experienced by oneself. *Blank* is quite other than these three, and knows neither passion nor the absence of passion. (9) The first Joy is found in *Variety*, Perfect Joy in *Development*, the Joy of Cessation in *Consummation* and the Joy of the Innate in *Blank*.

(10) These four Joys are to be experienced in due order in accordance with the list of the four consecrations, that of the Master, that of the Secret, that of the Prajñā and the Fourth.[1] (11) The first is represented by a smile,

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reflective thought is abandoned and the wisdom which is favourable(*pratipakṣa*) is acquired. This is the Wisdom of Cessation which completely cuts off the Moment of Consummation. As for the *Blank being other than these three*, this means that the *bodhicitta* is held; there are no opposing factors whatsoever and only that wisdom which is favourable remains; the Moment of Blank has been cut off, and this complete cutting-off is the Wisdom of the Innate.'

*ḥo daṅ ḥkhyud pa la sogs paḥi karuṇaḥi bye brag sna tshogs pa la rtog pa ḥdres pa ni rnam pa sna tshogs kyi skad cig ces bya ste | deḥi rnam par dpyod pa yoṅs su gcod pa ye śes cha cuṅ zad thob pa dgaḥ baḥo | rnam par smin pa de las bzlog ces phyi rol gyi rtog pa spaṅs te śes pa naṅ du thim nas kunduruḥi sbyor baḥi bar ni | sṅa ma las khyad par du smin pas rnam par smin paḥi skad cig ma yoṅs gcod ni mchog dgaḥi ye śes so | gros ni rnam par ñed par brjod ces pa ni bolaḥi gnas su thig le byaṅ chub kyi sems phyin pa la | mi ḥthun paḥi rnam par rtog pa spaṅs te | gñen po ye śes su gyur pa ni rnam par ñed paḥi skad cig ma [ḥam] yoṅs su gcod pa ni dgaḥ bral gyi ye śes so | mtshan ñid bral ba gsum las gźan źes pa ni deḥi tshe thig le byaṅ chub kyi sems zin pa ni mi mthun paḥi phyogs thams cad bral te | gñen po ye śes ḥbaḥ źig tu gnas pa ni mtshan ñid bral baḥi skad cig ma rnam par bcad nas te | yoṅs gcod ni lhan cig skyes paḥi ye śes so |* (xvii. 399*a* 1–5).

[1] D: 'The first is called the Jar-Consecration or the Master's Consecration. It is called a baptism because impurity is washed away, that is to say here that the impurity of the body is washed away. It is called the consecration (or baptism) of the jar, because it is characterized by (the use of) a jar, and the consecration of the Master because it is far removed from evil and wickedness. It is also called the consecration of knowledge (*vidyā*), because it overthrows ignorance and arouses an awareness of the five spheres of knowledge (*pañcavidyājñāna*). Now a consecration is a bestowing of power, and (in this case) it bestows power in the *nirmāṇakāya*. The place of consecration is the body, and the instruments are the jar, the crown and so on.

The Secret Consecration is so called, because it is a secret from the *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and all those below them. It is a baptism because it washes away impurities of speech, and a consecration because it bestows power in the *saṃbhogakāya*. The place of consecration is the throat, and the agent of consecration is the *bodhicitta*, the *bindu* which has been experienced by the Master.

The Consecration in the Knowledge of *Prajñā* (*prajñājñāna*) is so called because it depends upon the *prajñā* and has the effect of arousing wisdom. As a baptism it washes away the impurities of the mind, and as a consecration it bestows power in the *dharmakāya*. The place of consecration is the *vajra*, and the agent of consecration is the *prajñā* with the lotus. The Fourth Consecration is so called because it is fourth, a word understood in relationship to the third; it is the precious consecration. As a baptism it washes away all tendencies towards evil of body, speech, and mind, and as a consecration it bestows power in the Body of Great Bliss (*mahāsukhakāya*). The place of consecration is the body, speech, and mind. As for the agent of consecration, one requires to have some guru as one's support, and with his inner power one needs no (other) agent.'

*daṅ po la bum paḥi dbaṅ ṅam slob dpon gyi dbaṅ źes bya ba ni | abhiṣiñca dri ma ḥkhrus pas na dbaṅ ste | lus kyi dri ma ḥkhrud par byed | bum pas ñe bar mtshon pas bum paḥi dbaṅ źes bya | sdig pa mi dge ba las riṅ du ḥgro bas na slob dpon gyi dbaṅ źes bya | ma rig pa lṅa bzlog ciṅ rig paḥi ye śes lṅa bskyed paḥi phyir rig paḥi dbaṅ źes bya | abhiṣeka ste nus pa ḥjog pa ni sprul paḥi skuḥi nus pa ḥjog | bskur baḥi gnas ni lus la bskur la dbaṅ rdzas ni bum pa daṅ | dbu rgyan la sogs paḥo | gsaṅ baḥi dbaṅ la abhiṣiñca ste ñan thos daṅ raṅ saṅs rgyas rnal ḥbyor*

the second by a gaze, the third in an embrace, and the fourth in union. (12) This fourfold set of consecrations is for the purpose of perfecting living-beings. The word consecration or sprinkling is used because one is sprinkled or cleansed.

**b.** (13) The *Prajñā* of sixteen years he clasps within his arms, and from the union of the *vajra* and bell the Master's consecration comes about. (14) She is fair-featured, wide-eyed, and endowed with youth and beauty. Then with thumb and fourth finger he drops the *bindu* in the pupil's mouth. (15) In that very act the flavour of sameness should be placed within the pupil's range.[1] Then having honoured and worshipped the *Prajñā*, he should consign her to the pupil, (16) saying: "O Great Being, take thou the Mudrā who will bring you bliss", and knowing his pupil to be worthy, free of envy and wrath, (17) he then further commands him: "Be ye one, O Vajradhṛk."

Now I shall tell you of the pupil's part and how he begs for consecration, (18) how he pronounces words of praise and worship when he beholds his master with the *mudrā*.

"O great tranquil Lord, intent on the *vajra*-practice,
(19) Thou perfecter of the Symbol, that hast thine origin in the oneness of
the indestructible *vajra*,
As you now do for yourself, may you also do for me.
(20) I am sunk in the thick mud of the *saṃsāra*. Save me who am without
a helper."[2]

(21) Then with pleasing food and drink, with wine and meat of good quality, with incense, oblations, and garlands, with bells and banners and ointments, with all these he should honour his lord.

(22) When the pupil has now reached the moment of Perfect Joy which is free from all notions of diversity, the master should say: "O Great Being, hold thou to the great bliss. (23) Until the time of enlightenment, O Vajradhṛk, serve thou the cause of beings." Thus should speak the Adamantine Lord as he sees his pupil overwhelmed in compassion.

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*gyi rgyud man chad la gsaṅ bas na gsaṅ baḥi dbaṅ źes byaḥo | ṅag gi dri ma ḥkhru bas na dbaṅ źes byaḥo | abhiṣeka ste loṅs spyod rdzogs paḥi skuḥi nus pa ḥjog paḥo | bskur baḥi gnas ni mgrin par bskur la | bskur baḥi rdzas ni slob dpon gyis ñams su myoṅ baḥi thig le byaṅ chub kyi sems so | śes rab ye śes kyi dbaṅ ni śes rab ma la brten nas ye śes skye bar byed bas na śes rab ye śes kyi dbaṅ źes byaḥo | abhiṣiñca ste yid kyi dri ma khru bar byed do | abhiṣeka ste chos kyi skuḥi nus pa ḥjog par byed pas dbaṅ źes byaḥo | gnas gaṅ du bskur na gsaṅ baḥi gnas su bskur ro | bskur baḥi rdzas ni phyag rgya mtshan daṅ ldan paḥo | dbaṅ bźi pa ni de ltar de bźin yaṅ bźi pa źes pa ni gsum pas go phye baḥi tshig dbaṅ rin po che ste | abhiṣiñca ste lus ṅag yid gsum gyi bag la ñal gyi dri ma ḥkhrud par byed do | abhiṣeka bde ba chen poḥi skuḥi nus pa ḥjog par byed do | bskur baḥi gnas ni lus ṅag yid gsum char laḥo | bskur baḥi rdzas ni slob dpon la la dag ni rten can du yaṅ ḥdod do | bla maḥi gźuṅ gis ni rdzas mi ḥdod do |* (xvii. 399*b* 2–400*a* 1).

[1] Compare I. x. 7–8.

[2] See 'Hevajrasekaprakriyā', *Journal Asiatique*, July to Sept. 1934, pp. 28 and 43, where these same verses occur.

**c.** (24) This is the great knowledge that exists in all phenomenal forms, dual by nature and yet free of duality, the Lord whose essence is both existence and non-existence. (25) He abides pervading all things, moving or motionless, for he manifests himself in these illusive forms. But by means of the *maṇḍala* and so on, he goes with certainty to his eternal condition.'

**d.** (26) Then Vajragarbha, begging all the *yoginīs* to have patience, addressed the Lord: 'May the *maṇḍala* be called a stronghold, which is the essence of all buddhas? Tell me Lord, just how things are, for doubt assails me.'

(27) The Lord replied: 'The *maṇḍala* is the very essence, we say; it is *bodhicitta* and the great bliss itself. This it takes to itself,[1] and so in this sense *maṇḍala* is said to be *malana*, "the act of taking". (28) *Cakra* is an assembly (of divinities) which purifies the spheres of sense and so on, and thus it is as void as space. By the union of *vajra* and lotus its bliss is experienced.'

**e.** (29) Vajragarbha said: 'What usage and observance should one follow?'
The Lord replied: 'You should slay living-beings.
You should speak lying words.
You should take what is not given.
You should frequent others' wives.

(30) Now to practise singleness of thought is the taking of life, for the thought is the life. To vow to save all men is interpreted as lying-speech. That which is not given is the bliss of woman, and she is your own Nairātmyā who is the wife of all others.'[2]

**f.** (31) Then all the *yoginīs* addressed the Lord: 'What are the spheres and faculties of sense? What are the bases of consciousness and how many are the component groups of personality? What are the spheres of consciousness and what is their true nature?'

(32) The Lord replied: 'There are six spheres of sense: form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and thought. (33) Likewise there are six faculties-of

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[1] Compare I. v. 19 and K: p. 118, ll. 27–30. T has translated as: *ādyāntaṃ karoti*—'it makes the beginning and end'. V also interprets accordingly (xv. 104*a* 7). All the other commentators (D gives both interpretations), however, explain as: *ādānaṃ karoti*, which by comparison with the references quoted above may be accepted as correct. But they then all read *ḥdus pa* (= *milanam*) in the second half of the line—*non sequitur*. Even KT does so although the explanation is already given in his own work.

[2] As for these interpretations, the first presents no difficulty; for the second see the *Vajracchedikasūtra* (Sanskrit text—*Anec. Ox.* 1881, pp. 35–36): 'Thus should one resolve who has committed himself to the way of the Bodhisattva: "I must place all beings in that condition of *nirvāṇa* where there is no residue". But having placed them there, no being is placed there. And why? If the concept of a being existed for a *bodhisattva*, he would be no *bodhisattva*.'

The third and fourth are made clear in the translation which is for this reason fairly free. Literally it runs: 'that which is not given is the energy of the woman, and another's wife is the Fair One who is (to him) as for you.'

sense: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind. (34) From spheres and faculties together we then have the twelve bases of consciousness. The five *skandhas* are bodily form, feeling, impulses, power of perception and consciousness. (35) The eighteen spheres of consciousness are the six faculties and six spheres of sense together with the six kinds of consciousness belonging to each pair. (36) Their nature is that of the essentially non-arisen and is neither true nor false, for all is like the reflection of the moon in water. O *yoginīs*, understand it as you will.

(37) For just as fire suddenly arises from the two fire-sticks and the action of a man's hand, and cannot be located in either of the sticks nor in the hand's action, and although sought everywhere, is not to be found anywhere, and is therefore neither a true thing nor a false thing, even thus, O *yoginīs*, should you conceive of all the elements.'

**g.** (38) Then all the *vajra-ḍākinīs* with Nairātmyā to the fore, took up the five ambrosias and the ingredients of the sacrament, and honouring the Lord Vajrasattva, they drank the *vajra*-elixir of immortality.[1]

(39) At that the Lord was greatly pleased and told them of effective power. 'Good, good O *vajra-ḍākinīs*, that truth which I keep secret and is honoured by all buddhas, of that I now tell you, for I am compelled thereto by the power of your *vajra*-praise, so listen if you will.'

(40) Then all the goddesses became very zealous, and touching the ground with one knee, they stretched forth their hands in worship to where the Lord stood, and listened to that which he said.

**h.** (41) The Lord said: 'Food and drink must be just as it comes. One should not avoid things, wondering whether they are suitable or unsuitable. One should not perform special ablutions or purifications, nor avoid the affairs of the town. (42) The wise man does not mutter *mantras*, nor devote himself to meditation; he does not abandon sleep, nor restrain his senses. (43) He should eat all meat and associate with all manner of men. He keeps the company of all women, his mind quite free of trepidation. (44) He should have no love for friend, nor hatred for any enemy. Those gods he should not honour, which are made of wood and stone and clay. For the yogin should always be consubstantiated with the form of his own divinity. (45) Men of all castes he may touch as readily as his own body, *ḍombas*, *caṇḍālas*, *carmāras*, *haḍḍikas* and the rest, brahmans and *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras*. (46–48) Nor is there anything he may not consume,[2] for his mind conceives no distinctions. (49) His loin-cloth is many-coloured and he adorns himself with clay-markings of different colours. Finding a flower in a cemetery he should bind it in his hair.'

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[1] Compare I. iv. 2 and xi. 8–9.

[2] The text here contains a list of the ingredients of an unpleasant potion with which the reader need not be burdened. The *svayaṃbhukusuma* is: *bud med kyi skye gnas las byuṅ baḥi khrag* (V: xv. 106*a* 6).

**i.** (50) Then Vajragarbha said: 'The unpurified faculties of sense have not been listed as a set of six. Of the purification of their respective spheres the Lord has already spoken.'[1]

(51) The Lord replied: 'For the eyes is Mohavajrā,
For the ears Dveṣavajrā,
For the nose Mātsaryavajrā,
For the mouth Rāgavajrā,
(52) For the touch is Īrṣyāvajrā,
And for the mind Nairātmyayoginī.[2]

By these protection is given for the purification of the faculties of sense.'

**j.** (53) Vajragarbha said: 'What may be said of secret language, that great convention of the *yoginīs*, which the *śrāvakas* and others cannot unriddle. May the Lord please tell us decisively. (54) As for the smile, the gaze, the embrace and the union, even by the *tantras* the secret language of these four is not mentioned.'[3]

(55) The Lord replied: 'I shall explain, O Vajragarbha, do thou listen with singleness of mind. This is that secret language, that great language, the conventional signs told in full.

(56) *madhya* (wine) is *madana* (passion)
*māṃsa* (flesh) is *bala* (strength)
*malayaja* (sandal-wood) is *milana* (meeting)
*kheṭa* (hide?) is *gati* (going)
*śava* (corpse) is *śrāya* (resort)
*asthyābharaṇa* (bone-ornament) is *niraṃśuka* (naked)
(57) *preṅkhana* (wandering) is *āgati* (coming)
*kṛpīṭa* (? belly) is *ḍamaruka* (drum)
*dundura* (emission) is *abhavya* (unworthy)
*Kāliñjara* (*n.pr.*) is *bhavya* (worthy)
(58) *ḍiṇḍima* (small drum) is *asparśa* (untouchable)
*padmabhājana* (lotus-vessel) is *kapāla* (skull)
*tṛptikara* (satisfying) is *bhakṣya* (food)
*mālatīndhana* (jasmine wood) is *vyañjana* (herbs)
(59) *catuḥsama* (a potion of four ingredients) is *gūtha* (dung)
*kasturikā* (musk) is *mūtra* (urine).

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[1] See I. ix. 13–14. Also diagrams III and IV.

[2] For these equations see diagram V. Also K (p. 145, ll. 6–8) who confirms them. The allocation is unsatisfactory, however, in that Nairātmyā (= Dveṣavajrā) is used twice. *Mātsarya* and *paiśunya* are synonymous. Concerning the form Vajrā in preference to Vajrī, see p. 80, fn. 5.

[3] Each of these stages, representing the four consecrations, is identified with one of the four classes of *tantras*. See the Glossary p. 139. The confusion of grammatical endings scarcely permits a sure translation.

*sihlaka* (frankincense) is *svayaṃbhu* (blood)
*karpūra* (camphor) is *śukra* (semen)
(60) *sālija* (rice product) is *mahāmāṃsa* (human-flesh)
*kunduru* is the union of two
*bola* is vajra
*kakkola* is lotus

**k.** (61) Likewise the buddhas of the five families may be referred to by means of hidden speech: (62) Ḍombī for the Vajra-family, Nartī for the Lotus-family, Caṇḍālī for the Gem-family, Brahmaṇī for the Tathāgata-family (63) and Rajakī for the Karma-family. These are the Mudrās, bestowers of *siddhi*; adamantine is their *śukra*, so honouring them, the yogin drinks it.

(64) O Vajragarbha, thou Great Being, you must receive with respect all that I have told you of this wondrous secret language.

(65) He who has been consecrated in Hevajra and does not use this hidden language, will lose the sacramental power, of that there is no doubt. (66) From calamities or thieves, demons, fevers, poisons, he will die, even though he be a buddha, if he does not speak with this secret language. (67) Having gained this knowledge of his own sacramental nature, if he does not use this speech, then the *yoginīs* who spring from the four *pīṭhas*[1] will show forth their wrath.'

## CHAPTER iv. ANSWERS TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS

(1) Then all those divine beings with Vajragarbha at their head, were filled with wonderment and consternation and addressed the Lord Vajrasattva thus: 'O may the Lord remove our doubts.

**a.** (2) (Firstly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Performance about singing and dancing as bestowing perfection, concerning this I have doubts. What is this singing and dancing?

**b.** (3) (Secondly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Consecration about receiving the sign of the Wrathful One or of some other family-head, concerning this I have doubts. What is the sign and of whom is the sign?

**c.** (4) (Thirdly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Matras about the seed-syllables of Nairātmyā and so on, concerning this I have doubt. Which is the syllable of whom?

**d.** (5) (Fourthly) in the Chapter on Hevajra's Body thirty-two veins were mentioned. May the Lord please tell me their purificatory significance, for I am confused about them.'[1]

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[1] The four *pīṭhas* are given in I. vii. 12. Bh associates them here with the four *cakras* within the body (xv. 285*a* 3).

a. (6) The Lord replied (in answer to the first question):
'The *yogin* stays at Kollagiri, the *yoginī* at Mummuṇi.
Loudly the drum sounds forth. Love is our business and not dissension.
(7) There we eat meat and drink wine in great quantity.
Hey there, the true followers are come together, but the frauds are kept far away.
We take the fourfold preparation and musk and frankincense and camphor,
Herbs and special meat we eat with relish.
(8) Going this way and that in the dance, we give no thought to what is chaste or unchaste,
Adorning our limbs with bone-ornaments, we place the corpse in position.
Union takes place at that meeting, for Ḍombī is not there rejected.[2]

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[1] The questions refer to the following passages:
1. I. vi. 10 and 13.
2. I. iv. 3.
3. I. ii. 6.
4. I. i. 13–20.

[2] As for this *vajra*-song, the commentaries provide two kinds of interpretation, a literal and a figurative. But in this case even the literal is concealed beneath the jargon of their 'secret language'. My own translation, supposedly literal, is based chiefly upon the explanations of K and S. It may be so far justified in the following manner:
*Kollagiri*—an individual *pīṭha* (K: p. 145, l. 26), not however included in the list given in Ch. 7.
*Mummuṇi* is however one of the *kṣetras*.
*bola* and *kakkola* as *vajra* and lotus are well established. S here explains them as *yogin* and *yoginī* (xv. 183*b* 5–6).
*ghaṇa*—K: *nirantaraṃ* S: *rgyun mi ḥchad par* (id. 183*b* 7).
*kibiḍa*—see II. iii. 57. Confirmed by K and S.
*vājjai*—K: *samucchalati* S: *brduṅ bar bya* (id. 183*b* 7).
*vṛj* 'send forth', 3rd sing. pres. act.
*kiai*—*kṛ* 3rd sing. pres. pass.
*rolā*—K: *kalakala* S: *rtsod pa* (id. 184*a* 1) D: *ḥgras pa*.
*balu* and *maanā*—see II. iii. 56.
*gaḍe*—K: *nirbharaṃ* S: *śin tu dgaḥ ba skyed par byed paḥi*—'(wine) which arouses great joy'.
*khājjai* and *pijjai*—taken as 3rd sing. pres. act.
*kāliñjara* and *dunduru*—see II. iii. 57. Confirmed by S.
*paṇiai* (reoccurs below) K: *praveśya* S: *bźugs par bya*—'should be there'.
*vajjiai* (reoccurs below)—3rd sing. pres. pass.
*causama*, &c. see II. iii. 59.
*lāiai*—K: *labhyante*. See also vocab. in Shahidullah, pp. 106 and 217. S, however, *lus la byug par bya*—'should smear (them) on the body'. 3rd sing. pres. pass.
*mālaindhana* and *śāliñja*—see II. iii. 58 and 60.
*bharu*—K: *nirbharaṃ* S: *khyad par gyis*—'specially'.
*khāiai*—K: *khādyante*. Pass. Compare *khājjai* above.
*phreṃkhaṇa kheṭa*—see II. iii. 56, 57. S: *gar la sogs pas ḥgro ba daṅ ḥoṅ bar byed ciṅ*—'going and coming because of the dancing and so on' (id. 184*a* 5).

(9) Dancing as Śri Heruka[1] with mindful application, undistracted,
Meditating with thought impassioned,[2] the mind uninterrupted in its concentration,
(10) Buddhas and Masters in the Vajra-doctrine,[3] goddesses and *yoginis*,
Sing and dance to their utmost in this song and dance.

(11) There comes thereby protection for the troupe and protection for oneself. Thereby the world is reduced to subjection, and all reciting of *mantras* (is perfected) by it.

(12) Decorously one sings there; decorously one dances there. The leader is first appointed, and then he should note the scent, (13) first of

*muṇiai*—K: *jñāyete* S: *yid la mi byed pa* (id. 184*a* 6). See Shahidullah, pp. 106 and 217.
*niraṃsua*—see II. iii. 56.
*caḍābī* (also *caḍābiai*) K: *āropyate* S: *gdags so.*
*śarāba*—K: *śrāyo* S: *ro*—'corpse'. See II. iii. 56.
*tahiṃja*—K: *tatra.*
*pàṇiai*—K: *praveśya* (as above) S: *gźug par bya* 'should be placed'.
*malayaja* and *kunduru*—see II. iii. 56 and 60.
*bāṭai* (also: *bāṭṭei*) ? = *vartate.*
*ḍiṇḍima*—see II. iii. 58. S: Ḍombī. See I. v. 18.

The figurative interpretations vary in the significance given to some of the terms. K and Bh differ; D gives three interpretations. The process described is, however, the same, and is that which we have already met with at the end of chapter 1 of Part I. K's interpretation may serve as an example.

HAṂ (*bodhicitta*) rests in the head, AṂ (*Caṇḍālī*) in the navel. (Mantras)[*] resound continuously. Compassion is practised, not gross licence. One consumes the notion of a self, and drinks the drink of great bliss. The breath is concentrated within; passion, &c. are kept away. Form, feeling, power of perception and consciousness are all purified. The impulses (*saṃskāra*) and the Self are here consumed in this yoga, that is to say, are rendered non-substantial. There is the bliss-giving motion (*phreṃkhaṇa*) of the *bodhicitta*, and again its motion (*kheṭa*).[†] Existence and non-existence cannot be distinguished. The drops are a unity (?—*niraṃśa*) because of their sameness of nature. By means of the veins the body is pervaded. In that yoga the non-substantiality of all the *dharmas* (the corpse) takes possession (vol. II. p. 146, ll. 4–17).

[1] Defining *śriherukarūpeṇa*, V. refers to I. vii. 27.

[2] 'thought impassioned'—V: 'to be moved by great compassion by the cause of oneself and others, undefiled by that defect that consists in the absence of passion'—*chags pa daṅ bral baḥi skyon gyis mi gos par bdag gźan gyi don du sñiṅ rje chen po g'yo bar bya źes bya baḥi don to* / (xv. 109*a* 7–*b* 1).

The dancing is the meditation (I. vi. 13: '*Nartanā bhāvanā smṛtā*').

[3] V: '*vajradharma* indicates their nature as Speech (*vāk*), *buddha* indicates their nature as Body (*kāya*)'—*rdo rje chos ni gsuṅ gi raṅ bźin no / saṅs rgyas ni skuḥi raṅ bźin no* / (xv. 109*b* 1). As *vāk* they sing, as *kāya* they dance. Now Speech is Amitābha and Body is Vairocana (see Introduction, p. 28). Hence K's equation (p. 146, ll. 21–22), for *Padmanartteśvara* is of Amitābha's family. He is red; his *prajñā* is *Pāṇḍuravāsini*, whose association with Amitābha may be seen from diagram VI. See also *I-T* iii. 2, p. 57, where he and Vairocana (presumably as Speech and Body) are the first emanations of Vajrasattva (as Mind). For his *sādhana* see the *Sādhanamālā*, nos. 30, 31, and 32.

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[*] Borrowed from Bh.'s interpretation.

[†] Bh's version is better: the flash of the AṂ *bindu* (drop) goes upwards, melts the HAṂ *bindu*, which comes downwards. (xv. 286*b* 1–2).

See also the Introduction, pp. 36–37.

garlic, next of vultures, and then of camphor and sandal-wood. Afterwards he should note the effective power of the song. (14) The sound of a goose and a bee is heard at the end of the song, and of a jackal too he should note the sound in the garden without.[1]

**b.** (Answer to the second question.)

(15) The *mudrā* is a sign or mark, and by this mark the particular family is indicated. If one practises meditation within the wrong family you will gain no perfection for there will be no perfection to gain.

(These are the families:) (16–19)

| *Dveṣa* | *Moha* | *Piśuna* | *Rāga* | *Īrṣyā* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nairātmyā | Vajrā | Gaurī | Vārī | Vajraḍākinī |
| Pukkasī | Śavarī | Caṇḍālī | Ḍombī | |
| Gaurī II | Caurī | Vetālī | Ghasmarī | |
| | Bhūcarī | | Khecarī | |

Understand this if you will.

**c.** (Answer to the third question.) (20–23)

| | |
|---|---|
| A | Nairātmyā |
| Ā | Vajrā |
| I | Gaurī |
| Ī | Vāriyoginī |
| U | Vajraḍākinī |
| Ū | Pukkasī |
| Ṛ | Śavarī |
| Ṝ | Caṇḍālī |
| Ḷ | Ḍombī |
| Ḹ | Gaurī II |
| E | Caurī |
| AI | Vetālī |
| O | Ghasmarī |
| AU | Bhūcarī |
| AṂ | Khecarī |

These are the seed-syllables of the *yoginīs*.

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[1] Only V comments on this passage: 'Whether it is a large gathering that has received a mandate from the king, or whether it is a gathering of simple folk, or is different from both of these and is the feast of a chief, first the leader of the gathering sings, and after him the others sing as they please. This is the sense. Now on the occasions of those festivals of a general gathering or a chief, the *vajrācārya* should note the signs of the effective power (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the song and dance. It is of three kinds (? grades): firstly there will arise a scent like garlic, secondly like vultures and lastly like camphor. Likewise in accordance with the characteristics of the song the tone of the voice at beginning and end is to be led and concluded with the sound like that of a royal goose and a royal bee (respectively).

*rgyal poḥi bkaḥ thob paḥi tshogs kyi ḥkhor lo chen po yaṅ run tshogs kyi ḥkhor lo tha mal pa yaṅ ruṅ / de dag las gźan paḥi dpaḥ boḥi ston moḥi dus kyaṅ ruṅ ste daṅ por tshogs kyi gtso bos glu blaṅs la deḥi rjes su gźan dag gis ci bder blaṅ źes bya baḥi don to / tshogs daṅ dpaḥ boḥi ston mo de dag gi dus su glu daṅ gar gyis byin brlabs kyis mtshan ma rnam pa gsum daṅ por sgog paḥi dri lta bu daṅ bar du bya rgod kyi dri lta bu daṅ / tha mar ga pur gyi dri lta bu ḥbyuṅ bar ḥgyur te / rdo rje slob dpon gyis mtshon par byaḥo / de bźin du gluḥi mtshan ñid kyis ṅag gi mdaṅs thog ma daṅ tha ma gñis su ṅaṅ paḥi rgyal po daṅ buṅ baḥi rgyal po lta buḥi sgras sna draṅ źiṅ mthaḥ brten to / bar du ni khyu mchog lta buḥi sgra ste / raḥi sgra lta bus rgyas par bya baḥi don te skad cig de ñid la dkyil ḥkhor baḥi ñe ḥkhor du yaṅ rtags de dag ḥbyuṅ bar ḥgyur ro /* (xv. 109*b* 4–7).

**d.** (Answer to the fourth question.)

(24) The thirty-two veins which are mentioned in the Chapter on Hevajra's Body, are equated with the *yoginīs*, two to each, (25) except for Nairātmyā who is equated with three, *Lalanā*, *Rasanā*, and *Avadhūtī*. The last one of all[1] must be firmly rejected, for there is no sixteenth phase. (26) And why is that? Because it is non-productive of an effect. The moon with its fifteen phases represents the Thought of Enlightenment. It is the great bliss symbolized by the fifteen vowels and the *yoginīs* are its phases.'

**e.** (27) Vajragarbha said: 'So one should not eject this 'camphor'. It is there that all the *yoginīs* have their origin, and its nature is the Joy Innate. It is indestructible and luscious, as pervasive as the sky.'

(28) The Lord replied: 'It is even as you say.'

Vajragarbha asked: 'By what means should one arouse the Thought of Enlightenment?'

(29) The Lord replied: 'By such means as that of the *maṇḍala* or the process of the self-bestowing of power, by these one arouses the Thought of Enlightenment, both in its absolute and relative form. (30) As relative, white as white jasmine, as absolute essentially blissful, it arises in the lotus-paradise, which is symbolized by the word EVAṂ. (31) We call it paradise or land of bliss (*sukhāvatī*) because of this bliss it is the keeper, for it is the home of all buddhas, *bodhisattvas* and *vajra*-holders.

**f.** (32) Such as is *saṃsāra*, such is *nirvāṇa*. There is no *nirvāṇa* other than *saṃsāra*, we say. (33) *Saṃsāra* consists in form and sound and so on, in feeling and the other four *skandhas*, in the faculties of sense, in wrath and illusion and the other three. (34) But all these elements are really sunk in *nirvāṇa*, and it is only from delusion that they appear as *saṃsāra*. The wise man continues in *saṃsāra*, but this *saṃsāra* is recognized as *nirvāṇa*, for he has brought this about by the process of purification. (35) This *nirvāṇa*, being the Thought of Enlightenment, is both absolute and relative in form.[2]

**g.** (40) For Nairātmyā is the camphor and Nairātmyā is the bliss. The realization of this bliss which is the Great Symbol itself is to be found in the lower *cakra*. (41) She is symbolized by the letter A, and it is as Wisdom that the enlightened conceive of her. In the Process of Realization she is the Lady Prajñā. (42) (No form may one apply to her) neither tall nor short, neither square nor round. She transcends all taste and smell and flavour, and it is she who brings the Joy Innate. (43) In her the yogin is consubstantiated, for it is her bliss that he enjoys. With her that perfection is found that bestows the bliss of the Great Symbol. (44) Form and sound, smell, taste, touch, and sphere of thought, are all enjoyed in this *Prajñā*. (45–46) She is the Innate itself, the divine *yoginī* of great bliss. She is the whole *maṇḍala* and comprehends the Five Wisdoms. (47) She is the "I", the Lord of the *maṇḍala*. She is Nairātmyayoginī, the sphere of thought in essence.'

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[1] The last one of all is *Māradārikā*. See complete list at I. i. 16–19. There is no sixteenth phase of the moon and there is no sixteenth *yoginī*. Therefore the last vein, which remains over, must be arbitrarily rejected lest it spoil the scheme. It is but an example of the essential arbitrariness of many of these lists.

[2] At this point the process whereby the *bodhicitta* in its relative form is aroused, is again described. It differs from the account already given in the last chapter (II. iii. 14) by a small elaboration: 'He should not receive it in his hand, neither on mother-of-pearl nor in a conch-shell. With his tongue he must receive the ambrosia for the increasing of his strength.'

**h.** (48) Vajragarbha said: 'The Lord has already explained how the divinities arise in the process of meditating upon the *maṇḍala*. May he please tell me about the *maṇḍala* within.'

(49) The Lord replied: 'We explain the internal *maṇḍala* as being comprised in the unity of the sound A which exists at the centre of the *yoginī*'s body, and just as the external *maṇḍala* (evolves from the seed-syllable), so also does the internal.[1] (50) The bliss that the *vajra* experiences here is the Great Symbol, and as coefficient the *vajra* is Means. The internal mingling that comes about, is figured in the external union of two.[2]

(51) The three *kāyas* are found within the body in the form of the *cakras*, and the perfect knowledge of these three *kāyas* is the *cakra* of Great Bliss. (52) (Therefore there are four in all:) the *nirmāṇakāya*, the *dharmakāya*, the *sambhogakāya* and the *mahāsukhakāya*. These are situated at the navel, at the heart, at the throat and in the head. (53) The *nirmāṇakāya* is in the place where the birth of all beings comes about.[3] One is born or fashioned (*nirmīyate*) and therefore it is called *nirmāṇa*. (54) *Dharma* consists of thought and the *dharmakāya* is at the heart. (55) *Sambhoga* is enjoyment which consists in the six kinds of flavour, and so the *sambhogakāya* is at the throat. The *mahāsukhacakra* is in the head.

(56–57) (The Four Fruits[4] are situated thus:)

The fruit which corresponds (*niṣyandaphala*) is at the navel.
The fruit of retribution (*vipākaphala*) is at the heart.
The fruit of manly activity is in the throat (*puruṣakāraphala*).

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[1] One might translate: 'The internal as much as the external is called *samvara*.' The commentaries provide a variety of paraphrase for this and the following verse. The whole thought is very ill expressed but is straightforward enough. Just as in the external performance *vajra* and lotus are united in the rite, so too in the internal *maṇḍala* the Great Symbol is realized by the union of A (= Wisdom or Lotus) which is situated in the navel-*cakra*, and of HAṂ (= Means or Vajra) which is situated in the head-*cakra*. See Introduction, pp. 36–37.

[2] The text actually has the reverse, that the inner figures the outer, which is unreasonable. K supports the rewording (p. 148, ll. 18–20).

[3] The translation omits: *nirmāṇāṃ sthāvaraṃ mataṃ* / It is out of place here and anticipates verse 59.

[4] There are normally five fruits. See *Mvp* 2271–7. See also the *Siddhi*, pp. 464–7. Concerning their allocation to the *cakras* within the body, see p. 38.

The pure fruit is in the head (*vimalaphala*).
The Lady Prajñā, impelled by the winds of *karma*, is herself the enjoyer of *karma*.
(58) A corresponding fruit is that which is enjoyed in correspondence with what has been done.
A fruit of retribution is the reverse of this, where the activity is small and the fruit is great.
A fruit of manly activity is that which is gained by effort.
A pure fruit is that which arises from the purificatory process of yoga.
(59) The Sthāvara School is allocated to the *nirmāṇacakra*, since the act of creation (*nirmāṇa*) has continued long;
The Sarvāstivāda to the *dharmacakra*, for it is there that the theory of *dharma* originates;
(60) The Samvidī to the *sambhogacakra*, for one experiences (*samvid*) (tastes) in the throat;
The Mahāsaṅghika to the *mahāsukhacakra*, for great bliss abides in the head.

**i.** (61) The School, we say, is the body. The monastery is the womb.
By freedom from passion one is in the womb.
The yellow robe is the covering of the embryo.
(62) One's preceptor is one's mother.
The salutation is the coming head-foremost.
The course of instruction is one's worldly experience (from former lives).
The reciting of *mantras* is the notion of self (AHAṂ).

(63) The sound A is found in the lower *cakra*, and the sound HA in the head. So one is born as a *bhikṣu*, reciting *mantras*, naked and free from hair on head and face. (64) By means of such effects all beings are buddhas, there is no doubt. The *bhūmis* are the ten months (in the womb), so all beings are already lords of the ten *bhūmis*.'

(65) Then all those goddesses, led by Nairātmyā, with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍurā and Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Cundā, Parṇaśavarī, Ahomukhā and the rest, as numerous as the atoms in Mount Meru, were seized with great wonderment, (66) and hearing those words, they fell senseless and terrified to the ground. Seeing them all thus afflicted, the Lord uttered these words of encouragement to arouse them:

(67) 'O you who are Earth and Water and Fire and Air, O worthy Goddesses, do you listen, for I shall discourse to you on the truth which no one else knows.'

(68) Then hearing his words as though in a dream, they all regained their senses.

(69) The Lord said: 'All beings are buddhas, but this is obscured by accidental defilement. When this is removed, they are buddhas at once, of this there is no doubt.'

(70) The goddesses said: 'It is even so, Lord, this is true and not false.'[1]

**j.** (71) The Lord said: 'If he drinks strong poison, the simple man who does not understand it, falls senseless. But he who is free from delusion with his mind intent on the truth destroys it altogether.[2]

(72) So those who know the means for release and make effort in Hevajra, are not held by the bonds of delusion and so on, by ignorance and the rest.

**k.** (73) There is no being that is not enlightened, if it but knows its own true nature. The denizens of hell, the *pretas* and the animals, gods and men and titans, (74) even the worms upon the dung-heap, are eternally blissful in their true nature, and they do not know the transitory bliss of gods and titans.[3]

(75) No buddha is found elsewhere in any of the spheres of existence. The mind itself is the perfect *buddha*, and no *buddha* is seen elsewhere. (76) Even Caṇḍālas[4] and other low-caste wretches and those whose minds are set on slaughter, if they will betake themselves to Hevajra, they will gain *siddhi*, there is no doubt. (77) But those fools who are obscured in ignorance and do not know this way, continue to transmigrate through the six realms of existence. (78) But when one has found Hevajra, who is the Means, O Vajragarbha of great compassion, one purifies the spheres of sense, and gains the highest state.'

**l.** (79) Then Vajragarbha asked:

'Pukkasī is said to be Earth, so why should Akṣobhya (*dveṣa*) be her sign?[5] Since hardness corresponds to delusion (*moha*) and this is Vairocana, then Vairocana (*moha*) would be suitable as the sign of Pukkasī.'

(80) The Lord replied: 'Apart from the body, there is no means of

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[1] Tibetan: 'It is thus, Lord, neither true nor false'.

[2] The interpretation of this line and the Sanskrit reading is based primarily on the Tibetan and is supported by the commentaries.

[3] The thought is incompletely expressed. On hearing that all beings are essentially blissful, K raises the false objection: 'But surely the denizens of hell do not enjoy the same happiness as the gods and so on. Certainly not, we reply, for they do not know the bliss of gods and titans, but then enlightened beings do not regard the bliss of gods and titans as true bliss. They think of it as suffering because of its transitoriness and its impureness (*sāsravatvāt*)' (p. 150, ll. 23–26).

[4] After *Caṇḍāla*, the text gives the name of another low caste, *Ceṇḍakāra* (MS. A) or *Caṇḍakāra* (MS. B).

[5] The basis of the objection raised by Vajragarbha is the list of family-allocations given on p. 103. Here Pukkasī belongs to the *dveṣa*-family, viz. Akṣobhya's (see diagram VIII). This would conflict with Pukkasī's function as the purificatory power for Earth, as listed at I. ix. 16, because Earth corresponds to Vairocana (*moha*) according to the process described at II. ii. 53.

activity for the mind, and therefore Vairocana becomes Mind and the Body (= Vairocana = Earth = Pukkasī) is marked with the sign of Mind (= Akṣobhya).'

(81) Vajragarbha said: 'Śavarī is said to be water, and Akṣobhya has the nature of fluid. Therefore it would be suitable for Śavarī to be signed with the sign of Akṣobhya.'

(82) The Lord replied: 'Apart from the Mind (= Akṣobhya = water = Śavarī) there would be no stability for the Body (= Vairocana = *Moha*), and so Mind becomes delusion, and Mind (= Śavarī as above) is marked with the sign of Delusion.'

(83) Vajragarbha said: 'Caṇḍālinī is said to be fire, so why is she signed with the Gem (Paiśunya, family of Ratnasambhava)? It would be suitable with the sign of Passion (*rāga*); for Caṇḍālī we want no other sign.'

(84) The Lord replied: 'Since Passion (*rāga* = Amitābha = fire = Caṇḍāli) is red, and Ratnasambhava is red,[1] therefore since fire is red, Passion (= Caṇḍālī as above) is signed with the sign of Envy (Ratnasambhava).'

(85) Vajragarbha said: 'Since Ḍombinī is air, and Amoghasiddhi has the nature of air, it would be suitable for Ḍombinī to be signed with the sign of Amogha, O Lord.'

(86) The Lord said: 'Apart from Passion (*rāga*) there would be no other source of origin for Envy (*īrṣyā*), and therefore he who understands, signs Ḍombinī with the sign of Passion.

(87) Since form is hardness, for Gaurī Vairocana would be prescribed, but in the manner already stated, she is signed with the Lord of Mind (= Akṣobhya). (88) In that same manner Caurī, Vetālī and Ghasmarī all have their signs free of contradiction.'[2]

**m.** (89) Then Nairātmyā for the benefit of living beings questioned Hevajra concerning the offerings,[3] (90) and he spoke about them that the life of beings might be protected from obstacles and troubles.

(91) 'OṂ Indra, Yama, Jala, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Vahni, Vāyu, Rakṣa.[4]
O Sun and Moon, O Mother Goddess of the Earth,
O Father Brahmā. O ye eight serpents of the lower realms, SVĀHĀ.

(92) Taste and smell these offerings. There are flowers and incense and

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[1] A tradition of a red Ratnasambhava still exists in Nepal. As a member of the set of Five Buddhas Ratnasambhava is regularly yellow, see diagram V and II. xi. 6.

[2] Gaurī is form. See I. ix. 13. But hereafter, with sound, smell, &c., the reasons for these associations with the Five Buddhas, considered as representing the five elements, no longer exist. They can therefore scarcely proceed in the same manner as the text states.

[3] Hevajra is here described as abiding in union, as resting in the lotus (EVAṂ). Here and elsewhere such preliminaries to the questions and answers will be omitted.

[4] These are invocations to the points and intermediate points of the compass.

meat. May ye prosper all our affairs and remove from our limbs our wounds and bruises.[1]

(93) OṂ A—the source of all things for they are unmanifest from the beginning.

(94) If yogins for their welfare make this invocation together with the offering, then there will be for them unalloyed happiness and the gods will be contented, possessed of all the good things of the world. (95) Moreover the rites of subduing, bewitching, destroying enemy armies, driving away, slaying, conjuring forth, propitiating and bringing happiness and prosperity, all will succeed, if one always makes this offering here to the company of these spirits.'

**n.** (96) Vajragarbha asked: 'With which sign should Khecarī and Bhūcarī be signed, O Lord? I have never known before.'

(97) The Lord replied: 'The threefold mystery is at the centre of the *maṇḍala*, and differentiated as Body, Speech, and Mind. These occupy a middle position, situated at nadir, zenith, and centre. (98) At the nadir is Bhūcarī, the adamantine representative of Body, and she has Body (Vairocana) as her sign. At the zenith is Khecarī, the adamantine representative of Speech, and she has Passion (Amitābha) as her sign. (99) The adamantine representative of Mind is Nairātmyā, for mind is the essential nature of Nairātmyā. Mind has the central position and so Nairātmyā arises in the centre.

(100) In full the families are six, but they are also five and three. Just listen, Yoginī.

(101)

| Akṣobhya | Vairocana | Ratnasambhava | Amitābha | Amoghasiddhi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *dveṣa* | *moha* | *piśuna* | *rāga* | *īrṣyā* |

Vajrasattva
*saukhya*

(102) They should be conceived in this order with these spheres of purification. By omitting Vajrasattva, we have a fivefold set of families. Then they become three by (retaining just) *dveṣa*, *moha*, and *rāga*.

(103) But these six or five families are comprised in one, that one family which has mind as its Lord and consists in the wrath of Akṣobhya. Such is the adamantine power of wrath.

## CHAPTER V. THE MANIFESTATION OF HEVAJRA

**a.** (1) And now the Adamantine One, the mighty King and Lord Hevajra, the giver of all things and the substance of all forms, discourses on the

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[1] This translation is based on K and R, but R alone explains *khanti khuṇi*. *bdag gi lus la ṙma daṅ sna yar sol cig*—'remove from our body wounds and afflictions'.

*maṇḍala*. (2) He reposes there in bliss as the essence of all forms, for he is Lord of the *Maṇḍala* and has emanated from the seed of the Vajra of Mind. (3) He has sixteen arms and eight faces and four legs, and is terrible in appearance with his garland of skulls and he wears the five symbolic adornments. Nairātmyā, clinging round the neck of this hero and god, addresses him thus:

(4) 'You have spoken of our circle with its troupe of fifteen.[1] But what is your own *maṇḍala* like, O Lord? Of this I have so far known nothing.'

(5–6) He replied: 'The circle is the same as described before, square and with four portals, and adorned with garlands and chains and *vajra*-threads. (7) There at its centre am I, O Fair One, together with you. The Joy Innate I am in essence, and impassioned with great passion. (8) I have eight faces, four legs, and sixteen arms, and trample the four Māras under foot. Fearful am I to fear itself, (9) with my necklace made of a string of heads, and dancing furiously on a solar disk. Black am I and terrible with a crossed *vajra* on my head, (10–11) my body smeared with ashes, and my mouths sending forth the sound HŪṂ. But my inner nature is tranquil, and holding Nairātmyā in loving embrace, I am possessed of tranquil bliss. My front face is black, the one to the right is like white jasmine, (12) the one to the left is red and fearful, and the one to the rear is distorted. The remaining faces are like those of bees, and there are twenty-four eyes and so on.

(13) In that fair citadel we play together with much delight, and thence Gaurī emerges and takes her position at the eastern portal. (14) Next from our union there emerges Caurī who appears to the south as keeper of that portal. (15) Then Vetālī, that destroyer of Māra, appears in the west, (16) and Ghasmarī of fearful appearance, in the north. (17) Likewise there appear Pukkasī in the north-east, (18) Śavarī in the south-east, Caṇḍālī in the south-west, and Ḍombinī in the north-west.

(19) Then the Adamantine Lord sinks with his Spell into the condition of bliss,[2] and the goddesses with the offering of various songs urge him to arise.

(20) "Arise, O Lord, thou whose mind is compassion, and save me, Pukkasī. Embrace me in the union of great bliss, and abandon the condition of voidness."

(21) "Without you I die. Arise, O Hevajra. Leave this condition of voidness, and prosper the doings of Śavarī."

(22) "O Lord of Bliss, who speak your words of power for the benefit of the world, why do you remain in the void? I Caṇḍālī entreat you, for without you I cannot consume the four quarters."

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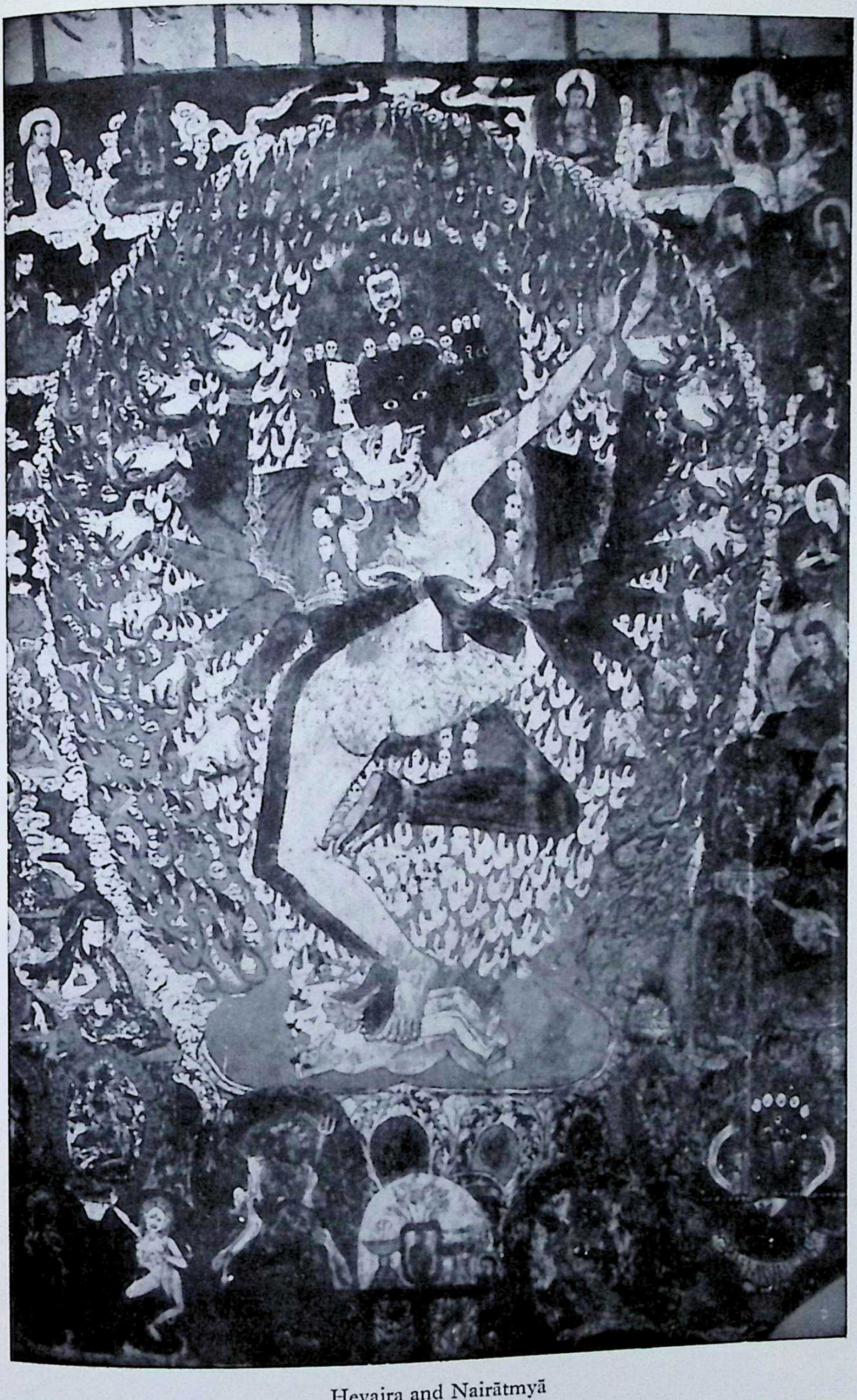
[1] See chapters 8 and 9 of Part I.

[2] The term is actually more precise than 'condition of bliss', viz. *drutabhūtaṃ* 'condition of the flow'. See the Introduction, p. 37.



Hevajra and Nairātmyā

(23) "O Wonder-worker, arise, for I know your thought. I, Ḍombī, am weak in mind. Do not interrupt your compassion."[1]

(27) Then from the sounds of AṂ and HŪṂ the Lord arises from his trance, spreading his feet upon the ground, and threatening gods and titans. (24) The skulls in his right hands contain these things in this order: an elephant, a horse, an ass, an ox, a camel, a man, a lion, and a cat. (25) Those in the left are: Earth, Water, Air, Fire, Moon, Sun, Yama, and Vaiśrāvana.[2] (26) He is possessed of the nine emotions of dancing: passion, heroism, loathsomeness, horror, mirth, frightfulness, compassion, wonderment, and tranquillity.

(28) GAṂ CAṂ VAṂ GHAṂ PAṂ SAṂ LAṂ DAṂ—thus does he produce their seed-syllables from HŪṂ and AṂ which are blazing and terrible and black in appearance, the seed-syllables of the Lord himself and his consort.

(29) In this manner one should conceive the Lord in that fair citadel, that circle of goddesses, where, black in colour and exceedingly fearful, he bestows such bliss upon Nairātmyā.

(These are the implements of the goddesses:)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (30) | Gaurī | holds in her | right hand a | knife | and in her | left a | fish |
| | Caurī | ” | ” | drum | ” | ” | wild boar |
| (31) | Vetālī | ” | ” | tortoise | ” | ” | skull |
| | Ghasmarī | ” | ” | snake | ” | ” | bowl |
| (32) | Pukkasī | ” | ” | lion | ” | ” | axe |
| | Śavarī | ” | ” | monk | ” | ” | fan |

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[1] In all the Tibetan versions these verses are translated and not transliterated. My translation is therefore based on these and supported by K's explanations (vol. II, pp. 152–3). In verse 22 the word *uhami* (A) or *uumi* (K), translated in my version as 'consume', seems to have caused difficulty, for no text gives a reasonable interpretation. K translates as *paśyāmi* 'I see'; T translates with *ḥtshal*, a polite word used elsewhere in this work with the sense of 'to know' (see vol. II, Vocabulary). R and D translate by *khums*, an extremely rare word, of which the meaning is recorded in no dictionary with any precision. It would seem to be connected with *ḥkhums* 'understand (?)' Having interpreted in this manner, R adds: 'without you I cannot see about me (in the directions), I shall see things just dark in this dimness'—*khyod ma gtogs par phyogs mi khums źes pa ste / khyod daṅ bral na ni phyogs su mi mthoṅ ba ste / ḥthams na mun paḥi dṅos po tsam źig mthoṅ bar gyur ro źes paḥi don to /* (xvii. 329*a* 2). D, however, explains the same word as: 'I do not understand my own purpose'—*khyed med na ni phyogs mi khum źes pa ste bdag gi don mi śes par dgoṅs paḥo* (xvii. 413*b* 5–6). No other commentator offers any explanation. It seems, however, that the whole difficulty arises from an early mis-reading, namely of *u* for *ḍa* which are very close graphically, and indeed in the same line of A *sihlāu* might equally well be *sihlāḍa*. This being so, our reading becomes *ḍahami* (.. *dahāmi*)—'I burn', which is precisely Caṇḍālī's function with regard to the quarters. See I. i. 31. In verse 23 *cheamaṇḍa* is explained by K as *nāgarikā*, 'quick-witted'. T's translation as 'weak in mind' seems more likely in the context.

[2] According to the text these verses would follow immediately after 23, before in fact Hevajra has become manifest again. 'The elephant and horse and so on represent the eight *lokapālas*, fire and water and so on represent the eight planets' (Bh xv. 299*b* 5).

(33) Caṇḍālī holds in the right a wheel and in the left a plough. Ḍombī has in the right a *vajra* and with the left she points one finger.[1]

(34) They are all two-armed and in a dancing-stance in the semi-*paryaṅka* position. They have three eyes, their hair twists upwards, and they wear the five symbolic adornments.

(35) Gaurī is black; Caurī is like the sun; Vetālī is like burnished gold; Ghasmarī is like emerald; (36) Pukkasī is like sapphire; Śavarī is like moonstone; Caṇḍālī is dark like cloud and Ḍombinī is golden.

(37) Their seats are: Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama, Kubera, Nairṛti, and Vemacitrin.'

**b.** (38) Then Nairātmyā asked about *mantras*, and the Lord replied:

(39–41) 'I will tell you of that *mantra* which is effective in subduing women and in threatening the wicked, which overthrows the serpents and destroys gods and titans, so do thou listen, O Goddess, thou giver of bliss. I have told none but buddhas and *bodhisattvas* of what is done by Vajrasattva and what comes of this *mantra*. I am greatly afraid, O Goddess; for your protection it is told to you.[2] (43–44) By 10,000 recitations in a clear, pleasant and sonorous tone, one who has applied himself to practice in Hevajra, may draw to himself all women. By 100,000 recitations he may perform any rite.

(45) OṂ[3]—to the eight-faced one with yellow hair twisting upwards, (46) who has twenty-four eyes and sixteen arms, whose body is like a black thunder-cloud and bears numerous skulls and garlands, and whose mind is extremely ferocious and whose teeth are like half-moons:

(47) Slay! Slay! Have done! Have done! Roar! Roar! Threaten! Threaten! Consume! consume the seven seas! Bind! bind the eight serpents!

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[1] V. explains these symbols thus: 'The eight symbols in the right hand, the knife and so on, are to be connected in this order: for cutting off the *kleśas*, for causing to sound the sound of absolute void, for constant bliss, for always holding to Wrath and the other four by means of the Truth itself (i.e. always comprehending fivefold existence for what it is), for doing all things without hesitation, for constancy in the condition of *arhat*, for turning the wheel of the doctrine, and for overcoming the *kleśas*. Likewise the eight in the left hand: for pleasantness to the touch, for destroying delusion, for preserving bliss, for taking knowledge, for cutting off the *kleśas* at the root, for indicating bliss, for the non-existence of the *kleśas*, and for indicating that spot which is immaculate.'

*ñon moṅs pa gcod par mdzad pa daṅ | stoṅ pa ñid kyi sgra sgrogs pa daṅ | mi g'yo baḥi bde ba daṅ | že sdaṅ la sogs pa de kho na ñid kyis rgyan* (? *rgyun*) *du bcaṅs pa daṅ | bya ba thams cad la the tshom med par bya ba daṅ | dgra bcom pa brtan pa daṅ | chos kyi ḥkhor lo bskor ba daṅ | ñon moṅs pa gžom paḥi phyir | g'yas na gri gug la sogs paḥi phyag mtshan brgyad rim pa bžin du sbyar ro | de bžin du g'yon paḥi brgyad ni | ḥdi ltar reg na bde ba daṅ | gti mug bsad par bya ba daṅ | bde ba bskyaṅ ba daṅ | ye śes blaṅ ba daṅ | ñon moṅs pa tshar bcad pa daṅ | bde ba mtshon pa daṅ | ñon moṅs pa med pa daṅ | dri ma med paḥi gnas mtshon pa ste | rim pa bžin du sbyar bar byaḥo |* (xv. 122*a* 3–6).

[2] At this point the text inserts a *śloka*, which seems to have nothing to do with the present context. Corrupt in the Sanskrit versions, but clear in the Tibetan, it reads: 'Having laid out the *maṇḍala*, terrible with its ring of flames, one should draw forth the excellent *bindu* for the consecration of Vajragarbha.' This refers to the *guhyābhiṣeka* (see II. iii. 14).

[3] Instead of giving OṂ the text says: 'the foremost of the Vedas, adorned with a half-moon and a dot.'

Seize! seize our enemies!

HA HĀ HI HĪ HU HŪ HE HAI HO HAU HAṂ HAḤ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

**c.** (48) Then the Goddess asks about the *maṇḍala*, (49) and the Master of Mighty Knowledge, blissful and self-collected, draws it there himself. (50) There is one circle, surrounded by flames of different hues, with four doors and four portals, adorned with *vajra*-threads and the series of five colours. (51) He draws then the eight vessels, all done with powder made from the five kinds of gem or from rice and so on, or else from cemetery bricks or the charcoal from the funeral pyre. (52) In the centre he draws a lotus with its pericarp and eight petals. At the centre of this he draws a skull, white and in three sections. (53) Then on the north-east petal he draws a lion, on the south-east a monk, on the south-west a wheel and on the north-west a *vajra*, (54) on the eastern a knife, on the southern a drum, on the western a tortoise, and on the northern a serpent. (55) These are the eight symbols of the goddesses in accordance with their different categories. In the centre he draws a white skull, signed with a crossed-*vajra*, (56) and (to the east) he places the sacred Vessel of Victory with branches in it and enwrapped with cloth, the five gems inside and filled with *śālija*.[1] (57) But why say more? The *maṇḍala*-ritual should be performed as it is given in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.[2]

(58) Into the *maṇḍala* one should cause to enter the eight blissful Spells, twelve or sixteen years of age, and adorned with necklaces and bangles. (59) They are called wife, sister, daughter, niece, maternal uncle's wife, maternal aunt, mother-in-law, and paternal aunt. (60) These the yogin should honour with deep embraces and kisses. Then he should drink camphor and sprinkle the *maṇḍala* with it. (61) He should cause them to drink it and he should quickly gain *siddhi*. Wine is drunk and meat and herbs are eaten. (62) Next he removes their garments and kisses them again and again. They honour him in return and sing and dance to their best, (63) and they play there together in the union of *vajra* and lotus.

Then at the second stage he should cause the pupil to enter, (64) and having covered his eyes with a cloth, he should afterwards display to him the *maṇḍala*.[3] Consecration is given there in that lonely place at night. (65) The consecrations are as ordained, distinguished as that of the Master and so on. Good pupils should first pronounce words of praise and worship.[4] (66) Then he initiates him in the truth itself, which is experienced at the beginning of the Joy of Cessation, and at the end of the Joy Perfect.

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[1] Compare the description at I. x. 21–29.

[2] See Introduction, p. 18, fn. The relevant section on laying out the *maṇḍala* occurs on folio 250*b* ff. Extracts will be found translated in *Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 69 ff.

[3] Our text here dismisses in a few words a most elaborate ritual. See *Buddhist Himālaya*, loc. cit.

[4] See II. iii. 18–21.

That which is concealed in all the *tantras*, is here finally made manifest.'[1]

**d.** (67) Then the Goddess asked: 'What is that moment like? May the Great Lord please tell me.' (68) The Lord replied: 'There there is no beginning, no end, no middle; there is neither *saṃsāra* nor *nirvāṇa*. It is the great and perfect bliss, where there is neither self nor other. (69) The thumb of one's own right hand and the fourth finger of the other hand, with these the yogin should press the two waves at the *sambhogacakra* (the throat),[2] (70) and from this what happens, you ask. Then there arises knowledge blissful like that of union with a maiden or like the dream of a fool. This is the end of the Joy Perfect and the beginning of the Joy of Cessation,[3] Void and non-Void, the state of Heruka.'

## CHAPTER vi. THE MAKING OF A PAINTING

**a.** (1–2) Then the Lord discoursed upon the five symbolic adornments.[4]
(3) The crown is worn for the adoration of one's *guru* and master and chosen divinity.
Ear-rings are worn to indicate one's deafness to evil words spoken against one's *guru* and "*vajra*-holder".
(4) The necklace suggests the *mantras* intoned,
the bracelets one's renunciation of harming living-beings,
the girdle one's service of the *Mudrā*.
The body should always be signed with these signs of the Five Buddhas.'

**b.** (5–6) Then the Goddess asked Hevajra: 'In accordance with what precept and what ritual should one make a painting of Hevajra? May the Lord of Great Bliss please tell me.'

(7) He replied: 'By a painter who belongs to our tradition, by a yogin of our tradition, this fearful painting should be done, and it should be painted with the five colours reposing in a human skull and with a brush made from

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[1] K explains *antam antaṃ* as the two first consecrations, that of the Master, and the Secret (p. 154, l. 18). This would be true by implication. R similarly identifies them with the third consecration, adding: 'This is hidden in all tantras, that is to say, it is not made clear. But in the last resort it is made clear, that is to say that here, the very limit of all tantras, it becomes clear'—*mthaḥ źes pa ste śes rab ye śes so źes paḥi don to | de ñid ni rgyud rnams kun tu sbas pa ste źes pa ste | gsal por ma mdzad do źes so | mthar thug rab gsal baḥo źes ni rgyud thams cad kyi mthar thug pa ḥdir ni rab tu gsal bar gsuṅs paḥo |* (xvii. 331*b* 1–2).

[2] This is literally translated, and refers to the meeting of *yogin* and *yoginī*. See Part I, chapter 7. Interpreted it becomes: 'With the two (veins), *Rasanā* and *Lalanā*, to the left-hand and the right, one should press the two waves of vital breath (up the central vein) to the *sambhogacakra*'. See the Introduction, p. 36–7. K's equations are reversed, however, (p. 154, ll. 35–38). The thumb is *rasanā* (*upāya*) and the fourth finger is *lalanā* (*prajñā*). See K (p. 121, l. 16). Also S (xv. 191*b* 2): *rgan po ni mthe boṅ ste | de yaṅ rdo rjeḥo | srin lag ni chos kyi ḥbyuṅ gnas so |*

[3] No commentator is able to explain *madhyaṃ viramasya*, although textually the reading cannot be challenged. It seems, however, to be a very early error for *ādyaṃ viramasya*. Compare verse 66. See also the Introduction, p. 35, where this expression is mentioned.

[4] For previous reference to these adornments, see I. iii. 14 and vi. 11. Also diagram V.

the hair of a corpse. (8) She who is to spin the thread and weave the canvas should also be of our tradition and united in its sacramental power. (9) (It should be painted under these circumstances:) in a lonely spot at noon on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, in a ferocious state of mind from the drinking of some wine, (10) with the body naked and adorned with the bone accoutrements; one should eat the sacrament in its foul and impure form,[1] (11) having placed one's own *mudrā* at one's left side, she who is beautiful, compassionate, well endowed with youth and beauty, adorned with flowers and beloved of her master.'

## CHAPTER vii. BOOKS AND FEASTING

**a.** (1) Then the Goddess asked about books and he replied:

(2) 'O listen, Goddess, greatly blessed, and I will speak on the subject of books. The book should be written by one of our tradition on leaves of birch-bark twelve *aṅgula* long, with collyrium for ink and with a human bone as a pen. (3) But if someone unworthy should see either book or painting, one will fail to gain perfection either in this world or the next. (4) To one of our tradition it may be shown at any time. Then on a journey the book should be hidden in the hair or under the arm.

**b.** (5)[2] (6) Now listen Goddess of wide-open eyes, to the matter of feasting in the company-circle, where if one feasts, that *siddhi* is gained that fulfils the substance of all one's desires. (7) One should set about this feasting in a cemetery or mountain-cave, in a deserted town or in some lonely place. (8) One should arrange seats there, reckoned as nine, in the form of corpses, or tiger-skins, or rags from a cemetery. (9) In the centre is he who embodies Hevajra, and with previous knowledge of their right positions one should place the *yoginīs* in the eight directions. (10) Then seated upon one's tiger-skin one should eat the food with eagerness, the sacramental herbs and the special flesh.[3] Having eaten and eaten again, one should worship the mother-goddesses there, (11) and perhaps the mother may be sister or niece or mother-in-law.[4] One should honour them to a high degree and gain *siddhi* in their company. (12) The meritorious (pupil) should present to his master a sacred skull-cup in one piece which is filled with wine, and then having made obeisance to him, he himself should drink. (13) He should hold it with his hands in the lotus-gesture and present it with his hands in the same position. Again and again the yogins make obeisance there.'

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[1] For *niraṃśuka* as bone-ornament, see II. iii. 56. The whole passage is paraphrased by V: 'the body naked and adorned with bones, he should paint while eating the sacramental articles which are foul and impure'—*bdag ñid kyi lus gcer bur byuṅ źiṅ rus pas brgyan la ḥbags pa daṅ mi gtsaṅ baḥi dam tshig rnams za bźin du bri bar bya* (xv. 128*a* 4–5).

[2] See p. 108, fn. 3.

[3] For *mālatīndhana* as 'herbs' (*vyañjana*) see II. iii. 58. *Śālija* is listed as *mahāmāṃsa*, and I associate *rājaśāli* with the flesh of the *dhvaja* and *śastrahata* referred to at I. vii. 21, (p. 71). It is, however, hypothetical as no commentary gives assistance. V, who alone deals with this passage with any adequacy, says simply: 'seated on their tiger-skins and so on, they should be offered the eatables such as they are'—*stag la sogs paḥi pags paḥi steṅ bzaḥ ba ci lta ba rnams draṅ bar byaḥo* (xv. 129*b* 7).

[4] For previous reference to these relatives, see II. v. 59. They are the eight *yoginis* of the circle, and in them the mother-goddesses are honoured. K, however, suggests that there are five and explains them away as symbols of the five faculties of sense (p. 156, ll. 3–6).

## CHAPTER viii. SUBJUGATING

**a.** (1) Then the *yoginīs* asked: 'What is the Great Symbol like in relative form? May thou, the giver of bliss, please tell us.'

(2) The Lord replied: 'She is neither too tall, nor too short, neither quite black nor quite white, but dark like a lotus-leaf.[1] (3–4) Her breath is sweet, and her sweat has a pleasant smell like that of musk. Her *pudenda* give forth a scent from moment to moment like different kinds of lotuses[2] or like sweet aloe wood. (5) She is calm and resolute, pleasant in speech and altogether delightful, with beauteous hair and three wrinkles in the middle of her body. By vulgar men, in fact, she would be classed as first-rank. Having gained her, one gains that *siddhi*, the nature of which is the Joy Innate.'

**b.** (6) Then Nairātmyā said: 'Lord, what kind of vow should be made?' He replied: 'May I be born from birth to birth as a member of this family, free from mania, compassionate, devoted to my guru, abiding by our conventions and an expounder of Hevajra. (7) May I be born from birth to birth, proclaiming this doctrine profound and ringing the *vajra*-bell, concentrating in myself the essence of woman.'

**c.** (8) Then pleased at this the Goddess asked: 'Those unworthy beings who are hard to tame, how are they brought to subjugation?'

(9) The Lord replied: 'First there should be the public confession (*poṣadha*), then they should be taught the ten rules of virtuous conduct, then the *Vaibhāṣya* teachings and then the *Sautrāntika*, (10) after that the *Yogācāra* and then the *Mādhyamika*. Then when they know all *mantra*-method, they should start upon Hevajra. The pupil who lays hold with zeal, should succeed, there is no doubt.

## CHAPTER ix. MANTRAS

**a.** (1) Now I shall speak of the splitting of the human-complex,[3] how by the mere knowledge of which the yogin gains the end he seeks, and causes his victim to split open at the navel for one cubit's length. (2) When one's mind is resolved in inmost wrath in counterpart of Heruka, even a buddha may be destroyed by means of meditation only. (3) Such slaying is done from compassion, after one has supplicated one's *guru* and master (and is

[1] Bh: 'dark like a lotus-leaf'—*padmaḥi ḥdab ma ltar sṅo bsaṅs so* (xv. 303*a* 3).

[2] The different kinds of lotuses given are: *padma*, *indīvara*, and *utpala*.

[3] K explains this as 'the sundering of consciousness and body'. For previous use of the word *saṃpuṭa* as 'union' see vol. II, II. vi. 2. One gains no conclusive help from the

directed against) those who bring harm to the doctrine or injure one's *guru* or other buddhas.

(4) One should imagine such a one as a victim face-downwards, vomiting blood and trembling with his hair unloosed. (5) One should then imagine a needle of fire as entering his rear, and the seed-syllable of fire in his heart. By envisaging him thus, one slays him in that instant, (6) for in this rite there is no need of oblations or a performance of a sequence of gestures; this great rite succeeds just by meditation, and is brought to success by the recitation of formulas.

**b.** (7) Now listen, fair-faced Goddess, and I will tell you the profoundest secret of the beauteous purifier of existence, who bestows that perfection that is free from all relative thought. (8) Behold, O Goddess, this great gem, this body in a darting ring of flames. Useless is a gem uncut, but once cut, it gives forth its brilliance. (9) Likewise this gem of the *saṃsāra*, possessed of the properties of the five desires, becomes like poison in its unpurified state, but when purified, it becomes ambrosia.

**c.** (10) The *saṃsāra* is Heruka's phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world. The form in which he becomes manifest, that I will tell, so now listen. (11) His eyes are red from compassion; his body is black to indicate his sentiments of friendliness; his four legs symbolize the four means of conversion,[1] (12) his eight faces the eight releases and his sixteen arms the sixteen voids. The Five Buddhas are represented by the symbolic adornments, and he is wrathful for the subduing of the evil-disposed. (13) His flesh represents Pukkasī (earth), his blood Śavarī (water), his semen Caṇḍālī (fire), and his fat and marrow Ḍombī (air), his skin the seven factors of enlightenment, and his bones the four truths.'

**d.** (14) The Goddess said: 'What is that collection of *mantras* like, by which the activities of men reach a successful conclusion? May the Giver of Great Bliss please tell me.' He then explained the *mantras*.[2]

commentators over this passage. *Hastena* translated as 'for a cubit's length' is a mere supposition in order to avoid the obvious rendering of 'by his hand', which would contradict the whole theory of the ritual, which is done by 'mere application of the mind'.

[1] Elsewhere his four legs are said to indicate the crushing of the four Māras (see p. 80, I, ix. 15). Concerning the four means of conversion (*catuḥsaṅgrahavastūni*) see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 251 ff. For the seven factors of enlightenment, id. pp. 149 ff.

[2] There follows now, omitted in the translation, the list of mantras as already given in chapter ii of Part I. Here, however, they are spelt letter by letter in accordance with the following scheme. The vowels are called by the names of their respective *yoginīs* as listed on p. 103. As for the consonants: *ka—ṅa* is referred to as the first series, *ca—ña* as the second, and so on as far as: *pa—ma*, which is the fifth; *ya, ra, la, va* are known as the *antasthāni*; *śa, ṣa, sa, ha* as the *uṣmāṇi*. The five consonants in each series are then numbered from one to five. *Ka* is therefore the first of the first, *da* the third of the fourth, *ra** the second of the 'finals' (*antasthānāṃ dvitiyaṃ*), &c. OṂ is known either as Vairocana or 'Lord of Letters'. Ṃ (*anusvāra*) is known as 'void' (*śūnya*). See Introduction, p. 26. These letter-by-letter spellings are useful for checking the accuracy of the list given in chapter ii of Part I, but nothing is gained by their repetition here.

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* *ra* is also known as 'fire' of which it is the seed-syllable.

## CHAPTER X. ON RECITING MANTRAS

**a.** (1) Then the Lord Vajrasattva, the one unity of all that is, explained to Nairātmyā the different (means used in the) reciting of *mantras*.

(2) For petrifying one uses beads of crystal;
For subduing one uses red sandal-wood;
For bewitching one uses the wood of the soap-berry tree;
For causing hatred one uses human bone;
(3) For driving away one uses bone from a horse;
For conjuring forth one uses the bone of a brahman;
For causing rain one uses bone from an elephant;
For slaying the bone of a buffalo.

**b.** (4) Further when petrifying one drinks milk;
When subduing one proceeds as one pleases;
When slaying one drinks blood;
When conjuring forth one uses dung;
(5) When causing hatred one uses human flesh;
When bewitching one uses urine,[1]
or one may use the flesh of horse and dog and man and cow and elephant.[2]

## CHAPTER xi. THE FIVE FAMILIES

**a.** (1) Then Nairātmyā asked about the families of human beings, (2) and the Lord of the *maṇḍala* replied: 'O listen, thou Perfection of Wisdom, and I will speak of the several families of human beings.[3] (3) Whatever man or woman has a nine-pointed *vajra* on the lower joint of the fourth finger, belongs to Akṣobhya's family, which is the highest. (4) For Vairocana's there would be a wheel, for Amitābha's a lotus, for Ratnasambhava's a gem and for Amoghasiddhi's a sword.

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[1] These articles are listed in the code given on p. 99–100.

[2] Concerning these, see p. 86, fn.

[3] V is slightly more explicit than the text: 'Whatever man or woman has a line (*rekhā*) on the bottom joint of the fourth finger, is established (*adhiṣṭhita*) in the family of Akṣobhya, if he has one (a line) like a nine-pointed *vajra*. By the force of the qualities of his inherent nature, colour for that man consists in black. He performs the rite of slaying.' . . . 'Whoever has a line like a white wheel with eight spokes, is initiated by Vairocana, and by the force of the qualities of his inherent nature, colour for that man consists in white. He performs the rite of propitiation.' Thus it continues, allocating the rite of conjuring forth to those of Amitābha's family, the rite of petrifying to those of Ratnasambhava's, the rites of exorcizing and the rest (*bskrad pa la sogs paḥi las grub bo*) to Amoghasiddhi's, and all rites to Vajrasattva's.—*skyes bu ḥam bud med gaṅ gi srin lag gi rtsa baḥi tshig na re khā gnas pa na rdo rje rtse dgu pa lta bu yod pa ni Mi bskyod paḥi rigs su byin gyis rlab ste / raṅ bźin yon tan gyi dbaṅ gis mi de la mdog kyaṅ nag por gnas pa ste / bsad pa ḥgrub bo / . . . gaṅ la ḥkhor lo dkar po rtsibs brgyad pa lta buḥi re khā gnas pa ni / rNam par snaṅ mdzad kyis byin gyis brlabs pa ste / raṅ bźin yon tan dbaṅ gis mi deḥi mdog kyaṅ dkar por gnas te / źi ba ḥgrub bo* / &c. (xv. 138*a* 3–5).

There is nothing to indicate whether the mark on the finger is natural, viz. something to be read from the existing lines, or whether it is a man-made mark. The fact that all men are supposedly members of one family or another by nature, would suggest the former. But we seek precision here where no precision is forthcoming from our commentators. The whole has the appearance of a stereotyped list. The colours are those of the Five Buddhas, and the various rites are allocated in accordance with the colours allotted to them at II. i. 8–9.

(5) The yogin whose colour is black has Akṣobhya as his divinity.
The yogin whose colour is white has Vairocana.
(6) The yogin whose colour is dark green has Amoghasiddhi.
The yogin whose colour is yellow has Ratnasambhava.
(7) The yogin whose colour is red has Amitābha.
The yogin whose colour is white is of Vajrasattva's family.

(8) Yogins who have reached perfection should have no special liking or contempt for people. These families of the Five Buddhas should exist from a relative point of view. (9) The signs for women are the same as those for men, for they also belong to these families under a relative aspect.'

**b.** (10) Then the Adamantine Lord bade Nairātmyā be attentive and said: 'Listen, Goddess, how the *Prajñā* should be honoured. (11) In a garden, in a lonely place, or in one's inner apartment, . . .' (there follows an account similar to that already given on p. 113, embellished only by the listing of various postures).

## CHAPTER xii. THE FOUR CONSECRATIONS

(1) Then the Adamantine Lord spoke concerning the four consecrations. 'O thou who art already consubstantiated with the Vajra, take up the great *vajra* and the great bell, and perform even today for your pupil the beneficent act[1] of a *vajra-guru*.

(2) Even as the *bodhisattvas* are consecrated by past buddhas, so in this Secret Consecration you are consecrated by me with the flow of *bodhicitta*.

(3) O Great One, take, take to yourself this beauteous and delightful goddess, bestower of bliss, bestower of *siddhi*, and having taken her, pay her due honour.

(4) This knowledge is the great bliss, the adamantine essence, and like space, bestowing salvation, pure and tranquil. You are yourself the Father.'

(5) And now the empowering *mantra* of *vajra* and lotus:

OṂ Lotus, receptacle of bliss, bestowing the bliss of great passion. Many are the blessings of your four joys. HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ Prosper my affairs!

(6) OṂ Vajra, greatly wrathful, bestower of the four joys. Source of all things, of single savour, pervading space, HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ Lord, prosper my affairs!

In the head OṂ
In the heart HŪṂ
In the lotus Ā

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[1] 'beneficent act'—*saṃgraha*—see p. 117, fn. 1.

# RÉSUMÉ OF CONTENTS

As the subject-matter is incoherently ordered, especially in Part II, the cross-references provided in this *résumé* are intended to assist the reader in turning immediately to other parts of the work, where the same subjects are treated. All the references to any one main subject (e.g. Buddhahood, Consecrations, Buddha-Families, Joys, *maṇḍala*, *mantra*, Moments, partner, rites, *saṃsāra*, &c.) will be found in the index.

Variations of subject-matter within each chapter are marked (**a**), (**b**), (**c**), &c. Thus I. vii (**b**) refers to Part I, Chapter vii, para. (**b**).

I. i (**a**) The titles of Hevajra and their meaning.

(**b**) The Efficacy of this *tantra*. Refer to index under: Gazes, Rites, *bhāvanā*, *Yoginīs*, Secret Language.

(**c**) The *vajra*-body, which is the internal *maṇḍala*, referred to in the Introduction pp. 35–36. Here are listed some of the pairs which correspond with the two veins *Lalanā* and *Rasanā*, and the sets of four, which are equated with the four *cakras*. The thirty-two veins are also listed.

See I. vii, pp. 69–70 (where the veins are equated with the places of pilgrimage), II. iv (**d**) (where they are equated with the fifteen *yoginīs*). These equations amount to no more than a dogmatic assertion of the essential identity of macrocosm and microcosm. The various items are therefore forced into some sort of correspondence. See also II. iv (**h**) and p. 102 fn.

I. ii (**a**) A general list of *mantras*, which are required for the process of self-identification with the various divinities. They are all relisted at II. ix (**d**). Their use is essential for any practice, supramundane or mundane, for the gaining of enlightenment or for the producing of rain: e.g. see p. 56, fn. 1, and p. 57, fn. 1 for the use of *mantra* no. 11; see II. iv (**c**) for the names of the *yoginīs*, whose seed-syllables are given in *mantra* no. 6; *mantras* nos. 7, 8 and 9 are applicable in the meditations on Hevajra, which are described in I. iii; *mantras* nos. 12–18 are applicable to I. ii (**b**); see I. xi (**c**) for reference to Kurukullā, whose *mantra* is no. 19. Others are illustrated in the present chapter. See also II. v (**b**) for a specially potent *mantra*, which is not given in the present list.

(**b**) Fierce Rites. See also I. xi (**a**), II. i (**b**), II. iv (**m**), II. ix (**a**) and II. x.

I. iii. Meditation upon the *maṇḍala* of Hevajra and his troupe of eight goddesses. See also II. v (**a**) where these goddesses are described in detail. See II. ix (**c**) for an interpretation of Heruka (Hevajra).

**I. iv.** The process (called self-consecration) which is preparatory to meditation upon one's chosen divinity (*sveṣṭadevatā*). For this see II. ii (**a**).

**I. v.** Reality. The universe, which is essentially void, is conceived in a fivefold aspect, as the five buddhas, the five *yoginīs*, the five *skandhas*, the five families, &c. See diagrams V and VIII. A possible sixth family, that of Vajrasattva, represents the essential unity of all of them, II. iv (**n**) and xi (**a**). It may be observed that existence is also conceived under the threefold aspect of Body, Speech, Mind and *dveṣa*, *moha*, *rāga*. The passage II. iv (**n**) seeks to bring the two schemes together. See also II. iv (**b**) where an attempt is made to fit the fifteen *yoginīs* into the five families. This, however, involves certain contradictions, which a complicated passage elsewhere (II. iii (**l**)) attempts to resolve. One may also note how the whole phenomenal world is envisaged as becoming manifest by the sexual act and yet as fivefold, because it consists of the five elements, I. x (**e**) and II. ii (**g**). See also I. viii (**c**) and II. ii (**d**).

**I. vi (a)** A description of the accoutrements to be worn by the yogin and their significance. See also II. vi (**a**). For the consecrating of the *yoginī*, see II. ii (**c**), I. x (**a**), and references.

**(b)** The type of yogin. See also I. vii (**f**), II. ii (**b**), II. iii (**h**).

**I. vii (a)** Secret Signs.

**(b)** Meeting-places. See II. iv (**a**).

**(c)** Times for meeting.

**(d)** Eating of sacraments. See I. xi (**b**), II. vii (**b**). Also II. iii (**g**), and II. v (**c**).

**(e)** Slaying-rite. See p. 55, fn. 1, item vii and II. ix (**a**).

**(f)** The type of yogin. See above I. vi (**b**) for references.

**I. viii (a)** Meditation upon the *maṇḍala* of the fifteen *yoginīs*. See diagram III. For the actual producing of the *maṇḍala* compare I. iii, especially footnotes. One may note that just as the phenomenal world is conceived as becoming manifest through the five elements (I. v above), so the *maṇḍala*, which is an idealized form of being, is conceived as becoming manifest through the five wisdoms. See also references to *maṇḍala* at II. ii (**d**), iii (**d**), iv (**e**).

**(b)** Significance of knife, skull, and *khaṭvāṅga*. For the identity of the four Māras, see p. 80, fn. 2.

I. viii (**c**) The Absolute under its fivefold aspect, as represented by the five colours and a sixth, which is that of Vajrasattva, who represents the unity of the whole. See I. v above and II. ii (**d**). See also II. xi (**a**), where the six colours are again listed. They fail to correspond, however, because Vajrasattva is sometimes white (like Vairocana) or dark blue/black (like Akṣobhya).

(**d**) The *maṇḍala* is identified with the sexual rite.

(**e**) The Four Joys. See I. x (**b**) and II. iii (**a**).

(**f**) The Innate (Fourth Joy). See I. x (**b**) and (**d**), II. ii (**e**), II. iii (**c**), II. iv (**g**).

I. ix (**a**) The significance of the *yoginīs* which were listed in the last chapter. See diagram IV. See II. iii (**f**), iii (**i**).

(**b**) The essential deduction that: 'The world is released by the very bonds that bind it.' See I. i (**b**), II. ii (**d**), II. ii (**f**), II. iv (**j**), II. ix (**b**).

I. x (**a**) Laying out the *maṇḍala* for the Master's Consecration. See para. (**c**) below. See II. iii (**b**), II. v (**c**) and II. xii. Note also I. vi (**a**) and II. ii (**c**).

(**b**) The Innate. For other references see I. viii (**f**) above.

(**c**) See (**a**) above.

(**d**) See (**b**) and I. viii (**f**) above.

(**e**) The fivefold evolution. See I. v above and II. ii (**g**).

I. xi (**a**) Fierce Rites. For other references see I. ii (**b**) above.

(**b**) Eating of sacraments. See I. vii (**d**) above.

(**c**) Kurukullā. See I. ii (**a**) above.

II. i (**a**) Consecrations of books, images, &c.

(**b**) Instruction for performing rites, both gentle and fierce. For other references to fierce rites see I. ii (**b**) above.

II. ii (**a**) Meditation upon Nairātmyā or Heruka (Hevajra). See also I. iv.

(**b**) The type of yogin. See I. vi (**b**) above for further references.

(**c**) The training of the *yoginī*. See also I. vi (**a**) and I. x (**a**).

(**d**) The unity of Wisdom and Means. See also II. iv (**f**) and (**g**). For parallels to the phrase: 'renders it undiversified by means of its diversity' see I. ix (**b**). For references to the six colours see I. viii (**c**). See also (**e**) below.

(**e**) The Innate. For other references see I. viii (**f**) above. The Innate, which is the Fourth Joy, is by implication the essential unity of Wisdom and Means.

(**f**) 'The world is bound by passion, and by passion it is released.' See I. ix (**b**) for further references.

(**g**) The fivefold evolution. See I. v and I. x (**a**) above.

**II. iii (a)** EVAṂ experienced through the Four Joys in the Four Moments by means of the Four Consecrations. For the Four Joys see I. viii (**e**, **f**) and x (**b**).
- **(b)** The Consecrations. See references given under I. x (**a**).
- **(c)** The Innate. See I. viii (**f**), &c.
- **(d)** Definition of the *maṇḍala*. See I. v end. See also I. iii and I. viii (**a**) with references given there.
- **(e)** The Four Rules of Conduct.
- **(f)** The senses, spheres of sense and the bases of consciousness. See I. ix (**a**).
- **(g)** Eating of sacraments. See I. vii (**d**), &c.
- **(h)** The type of yogin. See I. vi (**b**), &c.
- **(i)** The symbolizing of the faculties of sense. See I. ix (**a**), &c.
- **(j)** Secret language.
- **(k)** The Five Families known as five *yoginīs*. See I. v.

**II. iv (a)** The meeting together and the eating of sacraments. See I. vii (**a**, **b**, **c**, **d**) and the references given there.
- **(b)** The fifteen *yoginīs* arranged in the five families. See I. v.
- **(c)** The seed-syllables of the *yoginīs*. See ii. 2, *mantra* no. 16. See also II. v (**a**), where eight of these *yoginīs* have a separate set of seed-syllables.
- **(d)** The thirty-two veins equated with the fifteen *yoginīs*. See I. i (**c**).
- **(e)** 'The Thought of Enlightenment.' For reference to EVAṂ see II. iii (**a**).
- **(f)** The unity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.
- **(g)** The nature of Nairātmyā. See I. viii (**f**) and II. ii (**d**).
- **(h)** Elements of the internal *maṇḍala*. See I. i (**c**).
- **(i)** 'All beings are buddhas.'
- **(j)** 'Those who know how, can drink strong poison.' See I. ix (**b**), &c.
- **(k)** 'All beings are buddhas.'
- **(l)** A forced effort to explain why the *yoginīs* are allocated to such and such families. See II. iv (**b**).
- **(m)** Oblations, applicable to all rites, as in II. i (**b**) and I. ii (**b**).
- **(n)** Body, Speech, and Mind, symbolized by three *yoginīs*. The five families are reduced to three in order to force them into correspondence. As comprised in one, they should be envisaged as the family of Vajrasattva, but as this is the *Hevajra-tantra* and Hevajra is Akṣobhya, Akṣobhya is given pre-eminence. See I. v and I. viii (**c**).

**II. v (a)** Hevajra and his troupe of goddesses. See I. iii.
- **(b)** A special *mantra* of Hevajra. See I. ii (**a**).

II. v (c) Laying out the *maṇḍala* for the Master's Consecration. See I. x (a) and references given there. For the eating of sacraments that takes place, see I. vii (d), &c.
- (d) The perfect bliss. See II. iv (f).

II. vi (a) Significance of the yogin's adornments. See I. vi (a).
- (b) Instructions for making a painting of Hevajra.

II. vii (a) Instructions for writing a book of Hevajra.
- (b) Eating of sacraments. See I. vii (b) and references

II. viii (a) The Great Symbol in her relative form. See II. ii (d), II. iv (g). See also I. vi (a) and I. x (a).
- (b) The yogin's vow.
- (c) Training for those who are hard to convert.

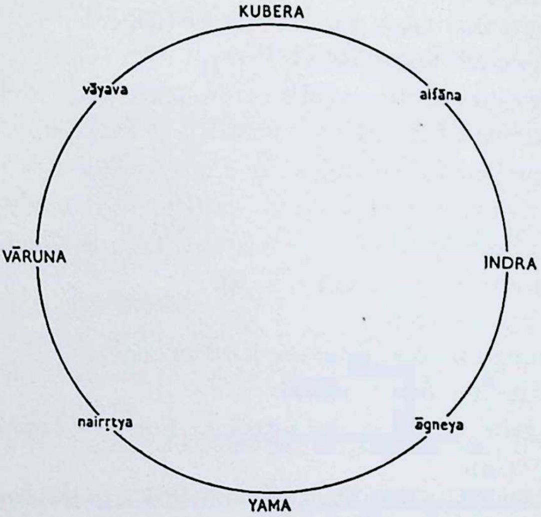
II. ix (a) Slaying-rite. See I. vii (e).
- (b) The gem, which is the *saṃsāra*. For reference to poison, see II. iv (j).
- (c) The *saṃsāra* is Heruka's phenomenal aspect. See I. ix (b).
- (d) *Mantras*. See I. ii.

II. x (a) Types of rosary to be used for the performance of different rites. See I. ii (b) and references.
- (b) Types of sacrament to be eaten when performing these different rites. For the eating of sacraments generally see I. vii (d) and references.

II. xi (a) The Families. See I. viii (c) and II. iv (n). See also I. v.
- (b) Honouring the *Prajñā*. See I. x (a) and references.

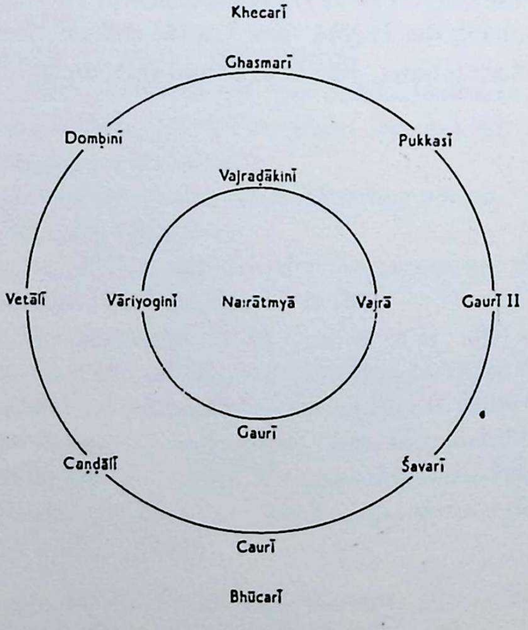
II. xii. The Consecrations. See I. x (a) and references.

## I. *Points of the Compass*


KUBERA
vāyava
aiśāna
VĀRUNA
INDRA
nairṛtya
āgneya
YAMA

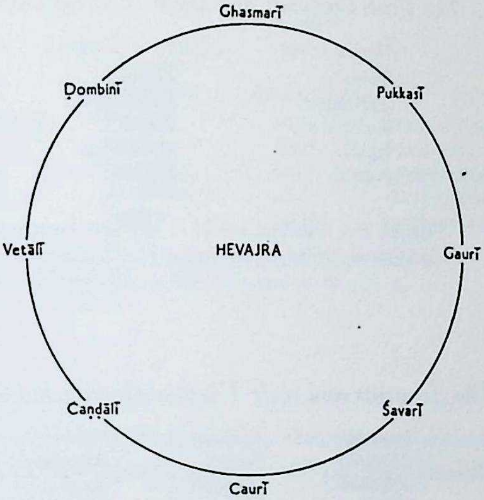
## III. *The Troupe of the Fifteen Yoginīs*

See Chapters 8 and 9 of Part I

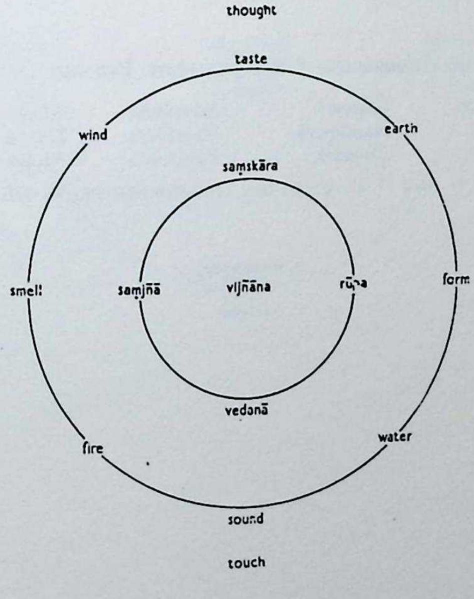

Khecarī
Ghasmarī
Domḅinī
Pukkasī
Vajraḍākinī
Vetālī
Vāriyoginī
Nairātmyā
Vajrā
Gaurī II
Gaurī
Caṇḍālī
Śavarī
Caurī
Bhūcarī

## II. *Hevajra and his Troupe*

See Chapter 3 of Part I and Chapter 5 of Part II


Ghasmarī
Ḍombinī
Pukkasī
Vetālī
HEVAJRA
Gaurī
Caṇḍālī
Śavarī
Caurī

## IV. *The Spheres of Purification of the Fifteen Yoginīs*


thought
taste
wind
earth
saṃskāra
smell
saṃjñā
vijñāna
rūpa
form
vedanā
fire
water
sound
touch

## V. *The Five Buddhas and their Associations*

| *Buddha* | *Family name* | *Affiliated Yoginī* | *Family symbol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Akṣobhya | Vajra | Ḍombī | viśvavajra |
| Vairocana | Tathāgata | Brahmaṇī | cakra |
| Amitābha | Padma | Nartī | padma |
| Ratnasambhava | Ratna | Caṇḍālinī | ratna |
| Amoghasiddhi | Karma | Rajakī | khaḍga |

For the five families, see I. v. 5–7 and II. xi. 5–7.
For the adornments, see I. vi. 11–12.

## VI. *The Elements and their Various Correspondences*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| EARTH | Locanā | Pukkasī | Vairocana |
| WATER | Māmakī | Śavarī | Akṣobhya |
| FIRE | Pāṇḍarā | Caṇḍālī | Amitābha |
| AIR | Tārā | Ḍombī | Amoghasiddhi |
| SPACE | — | — | Ratnasaṃbhava |

See vol. II, p. 104, ll. 7 to 14 for Locanā, &c.
See I. ix. 16 for Pukkasī, &c.
See II. ii. 53–57 for Vairocana, &c.

## VII. *The Three Adamantine Ones and their Various Correspondences*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| SPEECH | Khecarī | Amitābha | Rāga |
| MIND | Nairātmyā | Akṣobhya | Dveṣa |
| BODY | Bhūcarī | Vairocana | Moha |

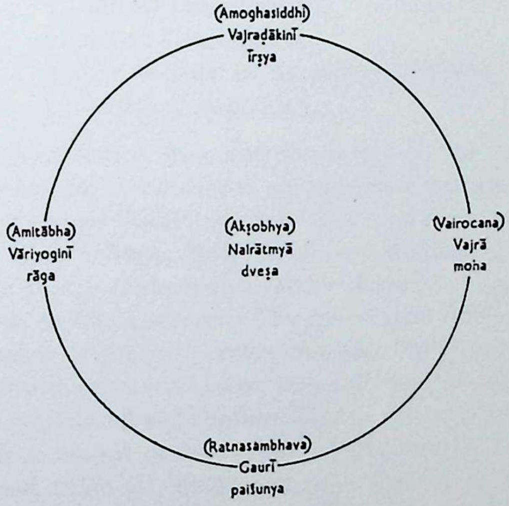
See II. iv. 97–99 and Introduction pp. 28–29.

## V. *continued*

| *Colour* | *Symbolic adornment* | *Seed-syllable* | *Type of wisdom* |
|---|---|---|---|
| black or dark blue | circlet | HŪṂ | suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna |
| white | bracelets | BUṂ | ādarśajñāna |
| red | ear-rings | JRĪṂ | pratyavekṣaṇajñāna |
| yellow | necklace | AṂ | samatājñāna |
| dark green | girdle | KHAṂ | kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna |

For the syllables, see I. ii. 2, and Vajragarbha's commentary (XV. 26*a* 7–*b* 1).
For the five wisdoms, see I. viii. 6–7 and p. 62, fn. 5.

## VIII. *The Inner Circle of Five Yoginīs showing their Sphere of Purification and their Correspondence with the Five Buddhas*


(Amoghasiddhi)
Vajraḍākinī
īrṣya
(Amitābha)
Vāriyoginī
rāga
(Akṣobhya)
Nairātmyā
dveṣa
(Vairocana)
Vajrā
moha
(Ratnasambhava)
Gaurī
paiśunya

# GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL TERMS

*abhiṣeka*. Literally a (purificatory) sprinkling, the basic sense seems to come close to that of 'baptism'. It has acquired, however, the wider sense of any kind of initiation rite. In the earlier tantric period (as typified by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*) it refers primarily to initiation into the mystic significance of the *maṇḍala*. Since there is explicit analogy with the rite of royal consecration, for which the term *abhiṣeka* is also used, 'consecration' seems to be the most suitable general translation. But the idea of a purificatory sprinkling is never lost. 'As externally one washes away exterior dirt with water, so one sprinkles water for the washing away of ignorance; it is thus called a sprinkling' (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 36).

In accordance with the general theory of the Buddhist tantric *yogins*, for whom everything goes in fours (*Hevajra-tantra*, I. i. 30), there are four consecrations:

1. Master-Consecration.
2. Secret Consecration.
3. Consecration in Knowledge of *Prajñā*.
4. Fourth Consecration.

The first consecration may also be known as the Jar-Consecration (*kalaśābhiṣeka*), for it consists of six subsidiary consecrations, in all of which the ritual jar (*kalaśa*) is used. These six consecrations are those of Water, Crown, Vajra, Bell, Name, and Master.[1] It is presumably because the Master-Consecration completes the set of six, that this name is also given to the whole set. The main set of four, with which the *Hevajra-tantra* is primarily concerned (see Index, consecrations), is interrelated with other sets of four, especially the four Moments (*kṣaṇa*), the four Joys (*ānanda*) and the four *Mudrā*. Externally they are related with the four classes of *tantras* and symbolized by the smile, gaze, embrace, and union (II. iii. 11 and 54). This set of four gestures is presumably related with the actual meeting of *yogins* and *yoginīs* at places of pilgrimage (see I. vii). Concerning the internal interrelations I quote K (vol. II, p. 107, l. 24 ff.):

' "Consecration is said to be fourfold for the benefit of living beings. One is sprinkled, that is to say cleansed and the consecrations are distinguished as four." Thus it is said (in our text, II. iii. 10) "the Master, the Secret, the *Prajñā* and then the Fourth thus", &c. In this *yoginī*-

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[1] See p. 95 fn., *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (*JA*, July–Sept. 1934), pp. 39–40, and *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 36.

*tantra* the Master-Consecration is given, in order that (the initiate) may progress far from evil *dharmas*. It is his "bond" (*saṃvara*). The essential nature of the Master-Consecration is a conferment by means of the *Karmamudrā* and contains in essence the four Moments and the four Joys. Some say that one can receive the Master-Consecration by the mere receiving of the non-retrogression Consecration (*avaivartikābhiṣeka*[1]), which is common to the *kriyātantras* and all the others; one is then worthy, they say, for exposition and initiation in the *yoga-tantras, yoginī-tantras* and so on. What an idea is this? In the first place then one is consecrated with the Master-Consecration in the *Hevajra-tantra* or some other *yoginī-tantra*, so that one may be worthy of the initiation, reflection and meditation (which follow). Then in accordance with one's knowledge the Master, the Secret, the *Prajñā* and the Fourth are characterized momentarily and so known.

'In the case of those of weak sensibility, who have received the Master-Consecration, when once their zealous application has been established, they should be given instruction in meditation with the *Karmamudrā*. Thus under the aspect of the Process of Realization (*niṣpannakrama*[2]) with the Gem (*maṇi* = tip of the *vajra*) set in the Secret (= lotus) they experience in accordance with their master's instructions the four Joys which have the nature of four Moments; this experience is the Secret Consecration because it cannot be explained to *yogins* in terms of diffuse mental concepts.

'Now in the consecration of those of medium sensibility instruction is given in meditation (*bhāvanā*) on the *Samayamudrā*. Even thus is *Prajñā* (Wisdom), for she is the highest knowledge, the knowledge that all the elements (*dharmas*) are nothing but one's own thought (*cittamātra*). For conferring this the consecration is the Consecration of the Knowledge of *Prajñā*. In the unity of the three veins, which represent the three kinds of consciousness, imaginary (*kalpita*), contingent (*paratantra*) and absolute (*pariniṣpanna*), one marks the four Moments by means of the Gem and in accordance with one's master's instructions. Because of the external *mudrā* (= feminine partner) it is properly known as the Knowledge of *Prajñā*.

'When this consecration has been given, instruction is given to those of strong sensibility in the *Dharmamudrā*, the mental concentration (*samādhi*) in which all appears as illusion. And so (it is said: II. iii. 10) "then the Fourth thus". It is "thus-ness" (*tathatā*), the climax of being (*bhūtakoṭi*), the elemental sphere (*dharmadhātu*) and similar names without any difference of meaning. The consecration by which its nature is seen or realized, its "thus-ness", is indicated by the word "thus". "Then" means that it is given immediately after the Consecration in the Knowledge of *Prajñā*. So this perfection is experienced with the external *mudrā* and by one's master's instruction, yet by a process of *yoga* which has no object of experience (*anālambanayogena*); it is characterized by the absence of discrimination with regard to definite places of origin. This is the Fourth Consecration.'

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[1] See *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*, p. 43; correct *avaivarṇika* to read *avaivartika*, amending translation accordingly.

[2] See Glossary below, p. 139, *utpattikrama*.

See also D's interpretation (translated p. 95 fn.), where the stages are related progressively with the four *buddhakāya* and with personality as expressed in the formula, Body, Speech, and Mind.

The Tibetan term *dbaṅ-bskur-ba* means literally 'bestowal of power'.

*adhiṣṭhāna*. From the literal meaning of 'position', this word is applied specifically to 'authoritative position' and then to the 'power' pertaining to such a position. It can therefore mean the power which belongs naturally to divine forms and in this sense it comes near to the Christian conception of 'grace'. It can also refer to the power which is experienced spontaneously in meditation or achieved through the recitation of *mantras*. In that it may be transmitted by a man of sanctity to his disciples, it may also be translated as 'blessing'. *Abhiṣeka* is essentially a ritual empowerment. *Adhiṣṭhāna* refers to innate or spontaneous power and always with the connotation of active expression; in the sense of 'grace' or 'blessing' it becomes, however, a form of empowerment. For its use in various contexts see 'empowerment' in the Index.

The Tibetan translation is *byin-rlabs*, literally 'power-wave'. *Byin* means 'power' in the special sense of its inherent splendour (i.e. majesty). *Byin-rlabs* is also used to translate Sanskrit *prabhāva* (power, lustre, splendour), which thereby becomes implicitly a synonym for *adhiṣṭhāna*.

*Byin-rlabs* is often written as *byin-gyis (b)rlabs-pa*, as though *(b)rlabs* were the perfect root of a verb:

*rlob-pa* perf. *brlabs* fut. *brlab* imp. *rlobs*

In fact the imperative form *byin-gyis rlobs* appears quite regularly in ritual texts and elsewhere. This verb scarcely occurs, it seems, apart from *byin*, but it is given both as *rlob-pa* and with the reduplicated form *rlob-rlob-pa*, meaning 'to billow', in the *brDa-dag miṅ-tshig gsal-ba* of dGe-bŚes Chos-kyi Grags-pa (Ko-hsi ch'ü cha: Tsang-wên tz'ŭ-tien), Peking 1957, p. 846.

*adhyātmika*. Internal or esoteric, in contrast with *bāhya*, external or exoteric. Thus the contents of the *Hevajra-tantra* can often be interpreted in two ways. E.g. the places of pilgrimage (I. vii) refer exoterically to actual sites, but esoterically they are identified within the body of the meditating *yogin*. Thus the commentaries often give double interpretations, e.g. vol. I, pp. 71–72 fns., 86 fn., vol. II, pp. 103–4, 110, 121–2. Besides *adhyātmika* and *bāhya*, certain other terms are used: *akṣarārtha*, 'literal meaning' in contrast with *saṃpradāyārtha*, 'traditional meaning'; *neyārtha*, 'expected meaning' in contrast with *nītārtha* 'real meaning'. In the case of our texts *neyārtha* means in effect 'literal meaning' and *nītārtha* 'figurative meaning', thus reversing the normal meaning of these two terms. See Egerton, *BHS Dictionary*, p. 310.

*ānanda*. Joy which is fourfold:

| | |
|---|---|
| (Just) Joy | *ānanda* |
| Perfect Joy | *paramānanda* |
| Joy of Cessation | *viramānanda* |
| Joy Innate | *sahajānanda* |

These joys are related fundamentally with sexual experience, envisaged as fourfold because 'everything goes in fours' (I. i. 30). Joy is the contact of lotus and *vajra*; perfect joy is the desire for yet more; the joy of cessation comes from the destruction of passion and the joy innate is a transcending experience sprung from the preceding joy (I. viii. 32–33 and K's commentary, vol. II, p. 127).

The four joys are experienced at four successive moments (*kṣaṇa*, q.v.), with which they are in a sense identical. Their relationship with the four consecrations (*abhiṣeka*, q.v.) is more complex. The Master-Consecration bestows them in anticipation; the Secret Consecration involves their actual experience by the master and their essence, still unrealized, is transferred to the pupil; in the Consecration of Knowledge of *Prajñā* the pupil experiences them directly. His experience leads to the Fourth Consecration, which is identical with the Joy Innate. Schematically, however, the four joys are placed parallel with the consecrations and it is explicitly stated (see K, vol. II, p. 132) that the first joy is experienced in the first consecration, the second in the second and so on. This would seem to be the esoteric interpretation arising from mystic experience (see *saṃvara*, p. 138,). Concerning the possible variation in the order of the last two joys see p. 35.

*bhāvanā*. Meaning literally 'causing to be', this is one of the words which I have translated as 'meditation' (compare *dhyāna*). It means 'meditation' in the special sense of mental production or thought-creation, corresponding with the emanative process of meditation discussed below (see *utpattikrama*). One may observe that 'being' (*bhava*) and 'meditation' (*bhāvanā*) are in essence identical. The first, which just 'is', is normally regarded in a falsified condition by ordinary men as a result of original accidental defilement (*āgantukamala*). The second is a deliberate production of 'being' in an idealized form, of which the *maṇḍala* is the complete expression, and by means of this deliberate production the true nature of 'being' itself is spontaneously realized.

*bindu*. Meaning literally a 'drop' or a 'point', *bindu* refers pre-eminently to the point at the centre of the *maṇḍala*, where all 'thought-creation' (*bhāvanā*) is absorbed. Hence it represents the Void (*śūnyatā*) or the 'Moon', which is the *bodhicitta* in its absolute aspect. Through identification of terminology it may also mean the *bodhicitta* in its relative aspect; thus it may be known as the white *bindu*, being paired with 'blood', which by analogy is called the red *bindu*. The Tibetan term *thig-le* (also used to translate Sanskrit *tilaka*) is the usual word for semen. It occurs glossed with *bodhicitta* on pp. 94 fn. and 95 fn.

*cakra*. Literally 'wheel' or 'circle', *cakra* refers pre-eminently to the circle of divine forms of which the *maṇḍala* consists. Hence it may mean 'manifested being', viz. 'existence' in relation with the 'point' (*bindu*), where all manifestation is absorbed. *Cakra* is also used in a technical sense to refer to the 'psychic centres' within the *yogin's* body, envisaged as lotuses with radiating petals (see K, vol. II, p. 107). In the literal sense of 'wheel', it is the symbol of the Buddha-Family of Vairocana.

*ḍākinī*. This curious term, of which I have so far found no adequate definition, refers in Buddhist tantric tradition to a type of *yoginī*, with which word it is all but synonomous. It is commonly related with the Sanskrit verbal root *ḍī* 'to fly', and represents that 'perfection which acts throughout the whole of space' (K, vol. II, p. 142). The Tibetan translation *mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma* means 'she who goes in the sky'.

The *ḍākinīs par excellence* are the five *yoginīs* who are identified with the five Buddhas and represent the unity of existence (*saṃvara*). See diagram VIII, p. 130. On the other hand, the *yoginīs* of flesh and blood, with whom the *yogins* come together at places of pilgrimage, may also be referred to as *ḍākinīs*. However, their divine, rather mystic, aspect tends to predominate, especially in later Tibetan tradition.

In Hindu tantric tradition they appear as the attendants of Kālī, the Great Goddess, and their flesh-eating propensities relate them closely with the ritual feasts of tantric *yogins* (see Index, 'feasting'). They belong to the lowest stratum of tantric practice, but are purified in interpretation and elevated as supreme symbols.

*dhyāna*. Derived from the root *dhyai*, 'to think or ponder', it is the general word for 'meditation'. Compare the special sense of *bhāvanā*, q.v. The Tibetan translation *bsam-gtan* means literally 'mind-composure'.

*japa*. Repetitive recitation of set formulas (*mantra*), which has the effect of directing the mind one-pointedly upon the divine form, with which the particular formula is traditionally related. Beads are normally employed for counting.

*kṣaṇa*. Moment. There are four moments, marking the stages of the four joys:

| | |
|---|---|
| Variety | *vicitra* |
| Development | *vipāka* |
| Consummation | *vimarda* |
| Blank | *vilakṣaṇa* |

My use of 'consummation' for *vimarda* represents an interpretation and not a translation. *Vimarda*, which actually means 'rubbing' is regularly glossed by *ālocana*, 'reflection', viz. the reflection that bliss has been experienced oneself (see pp. 35 and 95).

*mahāmudrā*. See *mudrā*.

*maṇḍala*. Sphere of divinity, mystic circle, idealized representation of existence. It may be produced mentally (see *bhāvanā* and *utpattikrama*), marked out temporarily on the ground, or painted in permanent form.

*mantra*. Mystic formula or spell, deriving its power from traditional association with a particular divinity or a desired result. It is rendered effective by means of repetitive recitation (*japa*) combined with meditation (*dhyāna*).

*mudrā*. The basic meaning is seal or sign, especially a hand-sign, which is the literal interpretation of the Tibetan term *phyag-rgya*. The related meaning 'symbol', presumably reached by way of 'symbolic gesture', has led to this word being used in a variety of special meanings, which seem at first to take one far from the basic meaning. As everything goes in fours (I. i. 30), there are four *Mudrā*:

| | |
|---|---|
| *karmamudrā* | 'Rite Symbol' |
| *samayamudrā* | 'Convention Symbol' |
| *dharmamudrā* | 'Truth Symbol' |
| *mahāmudrā* | 'Great Symbol' |

The *karmamudrā* refers to the feminine partner, normally known as the *Prajñā* ('Wisdom'), who plays an essential part in the second and third consecrations (see *abhiṣeka*). The term *mudrā* itself is commonly used as a synonym for *Prajñā* in this special sense (see Index).

The *samayamudrā* refers to the use of conventional symbolic forms in meditation, e.g. concentration upon Heruka. See *samaya* below.

The *dharmamudrā* refers to realization of the Absolute itself (*dharmadhātu*).

The *mahāmudrā* is identical with the Joy Innate and is the final goal of the tantric *yogin's* practice. As such, it is one of the names given to their whole school.

This set of four is not referred to explicitly in the *Hevajra-tantra*, where the only terms in use are *mudrā* in the sense of feminine partner[1] and *mahāmudrā*, which is used not only to refer to the final goal, but also in the sense of partner, for she is identified with the central vein, *Avadhūtī*, the blazing *Caṇḍālī* who is *Nairātmyā* (II. iv. 40–47).

In the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* (pp. 32 ff.) there is a short work on the Four *Mudrā*, of which the correct title is *Caturmudrāniścaya*[2] and the author in fact the *Mahāsiddha* Nāgārjuna, who was master of Advayavajra (alias Maitṛpa). The *mudrā* are discussed there in the order: *karmamudrā—dharmamudrā—mahāmudrā—samayamudrā*; the first three are conceived of as definite grades of realization, but the last seems to be added without any integral connexion with the others. In his own short work on the subject (*Caturmudropadeśa*, Narthang Tenjur, vol. xlvii, pp. 220*b*–224*a*) Maitṛpa sets the four symbols side by side with the four joys:

| | |
|---|---|
| *karmamudrā* | *ānanda* |
| *dharmamudrā* | *paramānanda* |
| *mahāmudrā* | *sahajānanda* |
| *samayamudrā* | *viramānanda* |

Maitṛpa's argument for placing the Joy Innate third has been given briefly on p. 35. If this comes third, then the *mahāmudrā* must also be placed third. One suspects here an artificial scheme, for it is associated with no improved interpretation of them as a coherent set.

*nītārtha/neyārtha*. See *adhyātmika*.

*prajñā*. Wisdom, one of the two supreme coefficients of final enlightenment, of which Means (*upāya*, q.v.) is the other. In Buddhist *tantras* the feminine partner is properly known as *prajñā*, and this is the usual meaning of the term throughout the *Hevajra-tantra*. The Hindu term *śakti* is never used and would be quite inappropriate (see p. 44). Other terms in use are *mudrā* (q.v.), *vidyā* (q.v.) and *yoginī*, which however, has the more general meaning of any feminine practiser.

*sādhana*. Evocation, viz. the envisaging and calling forth of a divinity normally by means of repetitive recitation (*japa*) of the appropriate formula (*mantra*) and by meditation (*dhyāna*) upon his formal representation. Thus a written *sādhana* of a divinity usually provides a full description of his form and attributes together with his special formula.

*samaya*. The basic meaning is that of 'coming together' in the literal sense of 'concurrence'. In tantric practice it refers to the 'concurrence' of absolute being and phenomenal forms, by means of which the practiser may experience that which by its very nature he would otherwise have no means of experiencing. The *maṇḍala* and the different forms of the divinities are means of just such a kind. In this sense we may translate *samaya* as 'conventional form', observing that 'con-vention' has also the literal meaning of 'coming together'. *Samaya* also refers to types of ritual food. The meaning is still the same, but it has seemed suitable to use the term 'sacrament' in these contexts. The *samaya* is always the outward sign of an inner hidden power. The Tibetan term *dam-tshig* means primarily 'pledge' or 'guarantee', which is precisely the function of the 'sacrament'.

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[1] It is also used in the basic sense of 'sign' and in the special sense of 'symbolic adornments', of which a set of five symbolize the Five Buddhas. In these two senses a masculine form *mudra* or *mudraṇa* is sometimes used. See Index.

[2] The Tibetan translation is in the Narthang Tenjur, vol. xlvi, pp. 80*b*–83*a*.

*saṃvara*. 'Bond' or 'Union', translated by Tibetan *sdom-pa*, which has the same meaning. It may be used in the sense of religious observation (I. vi. 24 and II. iii. 29), but more commonly in that of mystic union. Thus the Innate is described as the 'single union of all forms' (I. x. 41) and *Vajrasattva*, supreme buddha-being, as the 'single union of all elements' (II. x. 1). *Saṃvara* has a special technical use in the sense of the union within the *yogin's* body, the 'internal maṇḍala' (see I. i. 21 ff. and II. iv. 48 ff.). Here it can refer to the union of macrocosm and microcosm as well as to the union of the two coefficients (represented by the two outer veins) in the central vein of the body, which is also the centre and union of all phenomenal forms. This unity is conceived of as a consuming by cosmic fire and this consuming is the consummation of the *yogin's* practice, his reintegration with the Innate, the supreme buddha-being. One may note in this respect the Tibetan translation of Saṃvara (= Śaṃvara, a form of Heruka) as 'Supreme Bliss' (*bde-mchog*).

*siddhi*. 'Attainment' in the sense of 'Perfection' when referring to the highest religious striving; in the sense of 'Success' when referring to meaner objectives (see Index, rites).

*tantra*. Literally the 'warp' of woven fabric, the term *tantra* refers to a clearly definable type of ritual text common to both Hindu and Buddhist tradition, concerned with the evoking of divinities and the gaining of various kinds of *siddhi* by means of *mantra*, *dhyāna*, *mudrā* and *maṇḍala*. K glosses the term with *prabandha*, 'connected discourse' and defines our work under three aspects: as a *hetu-tantra* ('cause-tantra'), members of the *vajra*-family being the cause; as a *phala-tantra* ('result-tantra'), the perfected form of Hevajra being the result; as an *upāya-tantra* ('means-tantra'), the way which it teaches being the means (vol. II, p. 105). The *Hevajra-tantra* is in fact a *yoginī-tantra* as distinguished from a *yoga-tantra* (see p. 132 above, also *Buddhist Himālaya*, p. 203).

According to another mode of grouping, it is classed as an *anuttarayoga-tantra*, a 'tantra of supreme yoga', for it is the means to the highest form of *siddhi*.[1] Five classes of *tantras* are mentioned by K: *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga*, *yogottara* and *yoganiruttara* (vol. II, p. 156), but the number was traditionally fixed at four (for everything goes in fours) and it was in four such groups that the Tibetans later arranged their impressive collection. As grades they are associated, probably quite artificially, with the four consecrations (*abhiṣeka*) and typified by the four gestures of the 'smile', &c.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *kriyā-tantra* | Master Consecration | smile |
| *caryā-tantra* | Secret Consecration | gaze |
| *yoga-tantra* | Knowledge of *Prajñā* | embrace |
| *anuttarayoga-tantra* | Fourth Consecration | union |

'In some *kriyā-tantras* the smile indicates the impassioning of the Wisdom and Means of the divinities, by which symbolizing (*viśuddhi*, q.v.) the Master Consecration is indicated; in some *caryā-tantras* the mutual gaze indicates their impassioning, by which symbolizing the Secret Consecration is indicated; in some *yoga-tantras* the embrace indicates their impassioning, by which symbolizing the Consecration in Knowledge of *Prajñā* is indicated; in some *anuttarayoga-tantras* the union indicates their impassioning, by which symbolizing the Fourth Consecration is indicated' (K, vol. II, p. 142).

K also refers to the universally authoritative nature (*sarvādhikāritvaṃ*) of this *Hevajra-tantra* which is authoritative in that it is *yoginī-niruttara* in kind (loc. cit.). It is suitable for women as well as men of all three grades: weak, medium, and strong sensibility (vol. II, p. 126). See the references to these grades under *abhiṣeka*.

*upāya*. 'Means', one of the two supreme coefficients of final enlightenment, of which Wisdom (*prajñā*, q.v.) is the other. For references to this pair, Wisdom and Means, see the Index. The Means *par excellence* is Hevajra/Heruka, with whom the *yogin* must identify himself (see pp. 32–33, śl. I. x. 30, II. iv. 78). In the rite of union the feminine partner is *prajñā* and the *yogin* himself is *upāya* (I. x. 7).

*utpattikrama* and *utpanna-* or *saṃpannakrama*. These two terms refer cosmologically to the manifestation (*utpāda*) and reabsorption (*pralaya*) of phenomenal existence, and thus to the special technique of meditation which imitates this twofold process, thus identifying microscosm and macrocosm. By thought-creation (*bhāvanā*, q.v.) the *yogin* produces an idealized form of existence, symbolized by the divinities of the *maṇḍala*. This is the *utpattikrama*, 'Process of Emanation'. He conceives of himself as the centre of the process, and drawing the forms into his own heart, realizes his essential identity with the central all-comprehending divinity. This is the *utpannakrama*, 'Process of Realization'. For references see the Index.

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[1] It might also be called a *mahāyoga-tantra*; see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 753.

*vajra*. In early (Vedic) times the *vajra* was the divine weapon of Indra, god of the sky and lord of thunder and storm. In this context the obvious translation is 'thunderbolt'. The Tibetans use the term *rdo-rje*, literally 'lord of stones'. It symbolizes pre-eminently whatever is believed to be indestructible; thus it also has the meaning of 'diamond'. In the *tantras vajra* indicates the absolute nature of whatever it may be referred to. Thus *Vajrasattva* means 'Absolute Being', viz. supreme buddha-being. *Vajraganṭhā* means 'bell of the absolute', viz. the bell used in the rite of supreme realization. Everything associated with this intention assumes *vajra*-nature and the word is scattered freely throughout the texts. As an epithet I have used 'adamantine'. *Vajradhātu*, 'adamantine sphere' is the Absolute itself, personified as the Supreme Buddha *Vajrasattva*, 'Adamantine Being'. Also in use is the adjective *vajrin*, used in our text either of Hevajra himself or by the pupil addressing his master (*vajraguru* or *vajrācārya*). See *vajrin* in the Index. The concealed meaning of *vajra* is male organ; as such it pairs with 'lotus' (*padma*).

*Vajradhara* and *Vajradhṛk*. 'Holder of the *Vajra*'.

*Vajradhṛk* is the name by which the master addresses the pupil during the rite (see Index). *Vajradhara* is used in the *Hevajra-tantra* (II. iv. 31; vi. 3) referring to masters, who belong to the tradition. It is already established in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* as the title of supreme buddhahood and is in general use by the Buddhist tantric *yogins* (84 *siddhas*). Our commentators refer to the Supreme Buddha both as *Vajrasattva* and *Vajradhara*. *Akṣobhya*, the Buddha 'Imperturbable', as head of the *vajra*-family, is also *Vajrasattva* in essence and so may be considered Supreme Buddha by his family, to which those of the tradition of Hevajra belong.

*Vajrasattva*. See *vajra*.

*vajrin*. See *vajra*.

*vidyā*. 'Spell' in the special sense of the formula (*mantra*), which is the verbal expression of a divinity. Like 'speech' (*vāk*) it is considered as the feminine aspect and thus becomes one of the names for the feminine partner (see *Buddhist Himālaya*, pp. 288, 289). It is used in the *Hevajra-tantra* exclusively in the sense of 'feminine partner', i.e. as a synonym for *prajñā*.

*viśuddhi*. Meaning literally 'purification', this word refers to the process, whereby the various divinities symbolize the macrocosm and microcosm under their several aspects, thus identifying them with aspects of buddhahood. Thus the Five Yoginīs (diagram VIII, p. 129) 'symbolize' on one side the five evils and on the other the five aspects of wisdom. This active symbolizing (*viśuddhi*) represents the intended effect of any 'conventional' or 'sacramental' form (*samaya*, q.v.). For references see the Index, purification.

*yoga*. This is the one item for which it is scarcely practicable to give index-references, for the whole of the *Hevajra-tantra* is concerned with *yoga*, both in the sense of 'union' and that of the schemes, rites and practices, which should produce realization of that union. This *tantra* teaches the supreme type of *yoga* (*anuttarayoga*), which is the final identification and unifying of the macrocosm in the body of the *yogin*. The main technical terms used have their equivalents in the *Haṭhayoga* tradition (see P. C. Bagchi, 'Some Technical Terms of the Tantras', *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, vol. i, no. 2, Nov. 1933, pp. 75–88). Given a more limited meaning, *yoga* refers to union with one's chosen divinity; one may note in this respect the terms *samāhitayoga*, 'concentrated yoga', and *nirantarayoga*, 'continuous yoga' (p. 89 fn.). This is, however, but one of the means which will lead to the supreme *yoga*.

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References to the *Hevajra-tantra* itself are given by *ślokas* (śl.); elsewhere by pages (pp.). Numerals I and II, preceding chapter and śl. nos., refer therefore to Parts I and II of the *tantra*. There are a few page references to volume II and these are clearly shown as: vol. II.

Bracketed śl. nos. will not be found in the English version (vol. I), but only in the Sanskrit and Tibetan (vol. II).

Significant references are shown in italics.

† indicates an entry in the Glossary.

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*yogin*(*s*), pp. 9, 11, 23, 40, 56 fn.; śl. I. vi *passim*, vii *passim*, viii. 2, 22–24, 31, 42–43, ix. 9, 14, x. 2, 20, 42, xi. 6, 8–11, 15, II. ii. 1–30 *passim*, iii. 40–49, 63, iv. 6, 43, 94, v. 58–64, vi. 7, vii. 6–13, ix. 1, xi. 1–9.
*yoginī*(*s*), pp. 9, 11, 28, 33–34, 57 fn.; śl. I. i. 9, ii. 6, iii. 16, vii. 1–20 *passim*, viii. 1–19 *passim*, 31, ix *passim*, x. 5–7, 42, II. ii. 4, 6, 16, iii. 3, 31, 37, 67, iv. 6, 10, 20–23, 26, 27, 45, 49, vii. 9; *see also* goddesses.
*yoginī-tantra*, pp. 30, 132, 138; śl. I. vii. 19.

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